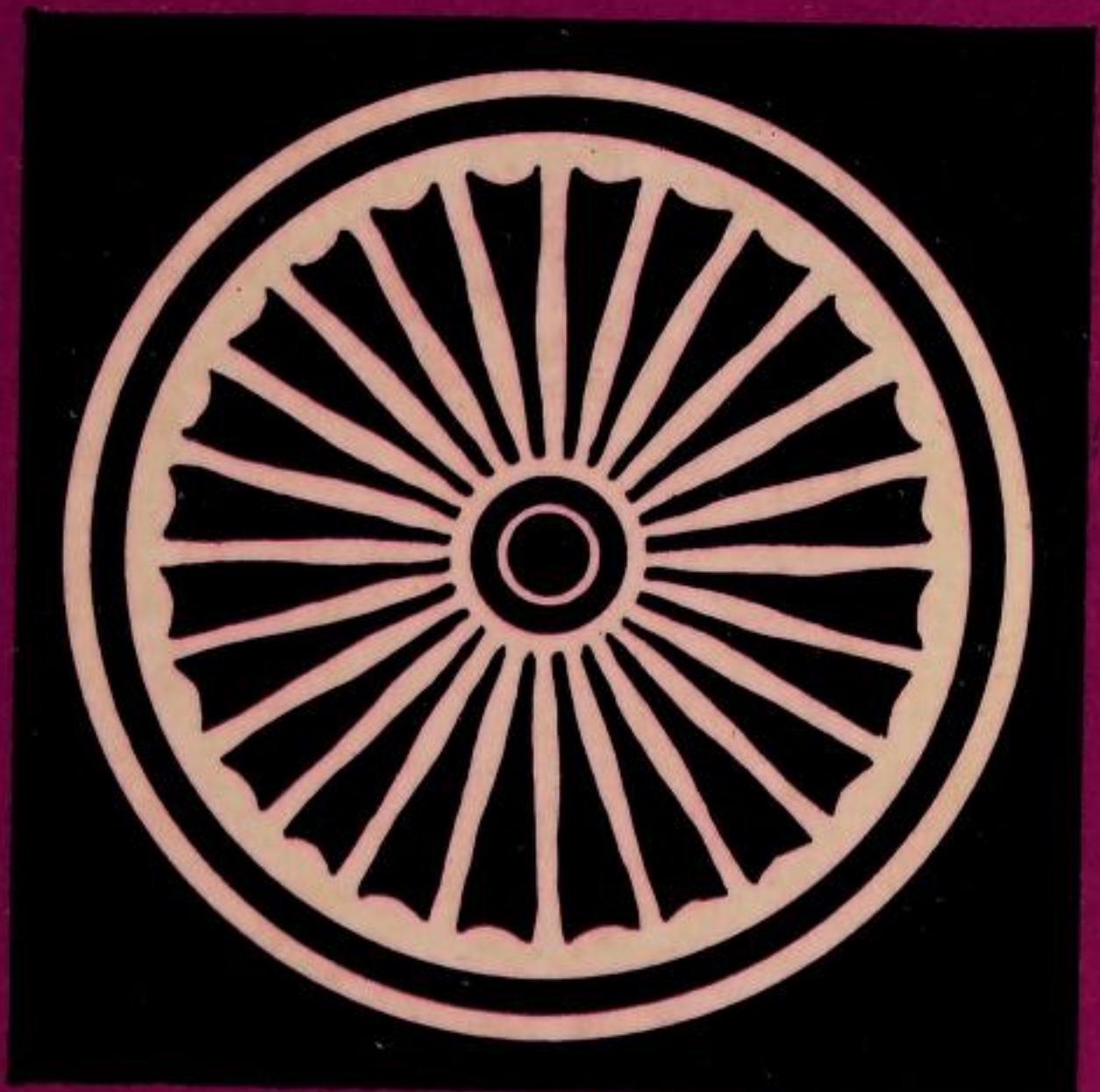
INDIAN POLITICAL THINKING

From Naoroji To Nehru



A. APPADORAI

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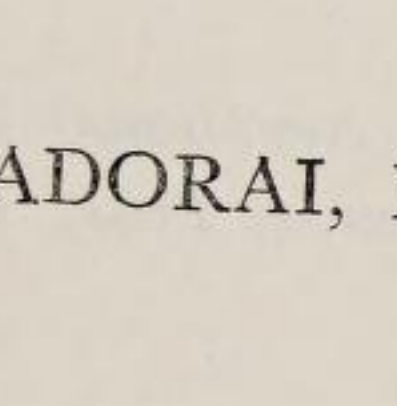
Indian Political Thinking

In The Twentieth Century
From Naoroji To Nehru

An Introductory Survey

A. APPADORAI, M.A., PH.D.



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PREFACE

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A. A.

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INTRODUCTORY

1 SCOPE OF THE BOOK

The object of this book is to survey the history of political thought in India from 1857 to 1964, from the assumption of direct rule over India by the British Crown to the death of Jawaharlal Nehru, free India's first Prime Minister. Projecting ourselves to a time more than one hundred years ago, a question that will occur to the discerning reader will be : was there *any* political thinking in the India of those days ?—dependent upon foreign rule, economically poor, and widely illiterate as she was. Any conception of the State and of the relationship between the State and the individual, of the authority of the State and the rights of the citizen and related ideas—liberty, equality, the rule of law, democracy, socialism and nationalism—are usually preceded by a developed civic life, which India did not possess. This question must be broadly answered in the negative in respect of the decade or two which followed the Sepoy Mutiny of 1857. Such writings as remain from the period 1830-80 are concerned primarily with social reform. These are the work of the leaders of the Brahmo Samaj founded in 1828 and of the Arya Samaj founded in 1875. Newspaper coverage up to the 1880's tended to stress social, cultural, educational and economic interests, with less attention given to politics. Following Macaulay's Minute of 1835, which in substance held that the object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among Indians and that the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone, the first results of what may be called 'English education' were seen. These led to the foundation of the Universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta in 1857. Students who had received a 'liberal education' and had read English political classics such as Mill's *On Representative Government* and *On Liberty* began to apply their minds to political issues. Especially with the 'founding' of the Indian National Congress in 1885, the trend towards public discussion of political issues was more marked.

The development of transport and communications made possible by the introduction of the railway (1853), postal (1853) and telegraph (1854) systems, and the gradual administrative unification of India, also greatly facilitated an exchange of ideas among social reformers, thinkers and political workers. Ideas, political ideas included, develop in an atmosphere of discussion : it may safely be said that without the facilities provided by these developments, as well as the newspaper and the printing press, and the discussion deriving from these, stagnation in political thought in India might have continued much longer than it did.

Imperial Rule and A Dependent People

Inevitably, until Britain transferred power to India in 1947, political thinking in the country was concerned primarily with the relations between a dependent people and their imperial rulers and the methods by which political freedom could be achieved. Until the partition of Bengal (1905) and the Jallianwala Bagh firing (1919) and the subsequent use made of them by Gandhi and others to induce political awareness, it cannot be said that the mass of the people expressed themselves in political terms; the elite, as in similar situations in other countries, led the way in thinking on political issues. How do a dependent people view imperial rule ? What are the merits and defects of such a government—the record of the Government estimated not only in terms of material benefits but of moral loss as well? What are the duties of an imperial government towards the ruled? And since some of those who had, in the earlier years, anything to say on the subject thought that the imperial government would last a very long time, if not for ever, what were the means by which that rule could be well-based ? Will improved social relations between Englishmen and Indians help to bring about greater understanding between the two peoples? Social reformers wished to see changes in several directions, but it was uncertain what part the state, controlled by an alien government, should play in social reform.

Then again, why is it that a dependent people demand self-government ? 'We want self-government', said Surendranath Banerjea in 1916, 'in the interests of the Empire to which we are so proud to belong. We want self-government in the interests of the administration and for the efficiency of the administration.

We want self-government for self-protection. And, finally, we want self-government for the higher national ends, for the moral and spiritual elevation of our people.'[1]

Self-government, it was argued, was essential. By what methods could it be achieved—constitutional agitation (including the education of the masses), terrorism or/and non-co-operation and civil disobedience ? What were the theoretical conceptions underlying these methods ? Sri Aurobindo and M. K. Gandhi were foremost among the thinkers who worked out the theoretical conceptions of non-co-operation and passive resistance. It is not widely known that the theory of civil disobedience had its critics as well, among whom were Srinivasa Sastri, a close friend of Gandhi, C. Vijayaraghavachariar, a Congress President, Sivaswami Aiyar, a great Liberal thinker and M. Ruthnaswamy, a political scientist.

While formulating the theoretical conceptions underlying these methods, the structure of nationhood inevitably became relevant. The success of a non-co-operation movement, for instance, assumes a measure of unity among the people. Are commonly held religious beliefs the necessary bases for nationhood or is nationhood defined by the distinctions between one nation and another ?

These—the conception of a dependent people of imperial rule and the rulers' duties towards those in their power, the reasons for the demand for self-government, the political methods by which self-government could be secured and the basis of nationhood—are studied in Chapters I to V. They may be considered a case-study of political thought among one dependent people. Similar case-studies relating to other dependent peoples would help to build up a general theory regarding the relations between a dependent people and imperial rule—an important aspect of the science of politics.

The Individual, Society and the State

A second group of ideas relates to the relations between the Individual, Society and the State. What is a good Society ? How is social change brought about ? What is the aim of the State ? What are the limits to Authority ? What is the relation between ends and means, between private morality and public morality ? As pointed out in our next section, while it is true

that there is hardly a theory of State developed by our thinkers comparable to those of Aristotle or Rousseau in Western political thought, it is surprising how much ground the speakers and writers who discussed political and social problems covered on the essentials of a social philosphy. Thus Gandhi spoke of 'the welfare of all'[2] in preference to the utilitarian conception of the greatest happiness of the greatest number; C. Rajagopalachari, one of the most logical and acute thinkers, would set definite limits to the authority of the State, lest it should assume a totalitarian character. Inevitably more than one trend of thought is traceable in the writers of the period, e.g. those who justified an extension of State activity in order that the freedom of all might be preserved and extended and as a safeguard against the exploitation of the many poor by the rich few, and those who argued against an extension of State interference.

Democracy, freedom, equality, socialism and communism are debated with consummate skill; and while the arguments used for and against are, for the most part, familiar in Western political thought, there is an Indian use of them which can be explained only on the basis of the environment with which the speakers and writers were familiar and the tradition which they had inherited.

The different viewpoints held on the individual, society and the state together with the ideas canvassed on democracy, socialism and communism are dealt with in chapters VI, VII and VIII.

Religion and Politics

Religion as a factor in social progress and its relation to politics are recurring themes in recent political thought in India. We have seen earlier that in the discussion of what a nation is, religion was held to be an important factor in Indian nationalism; that apart, Gandhi's whole social philosophy was based on the need to have faith in God and trust in Him to guide men in the right path, while M. N. Roy would put authority on a *secular rational basis* and none other. Again, the idea of secularism, one of the fundamentals of Nehru's conception of the State in India, is clearly connected with the need to keep religion out of politics, while Jinnah thought that, both Hinduism and Islam being regulators of social life, it was impossible to divorce religion from politics. These ideas form the subject matter of chapter IX.

Internationalism and Universalism

Chapter X deals with the ideas of our thinkers on internationalism and universalism ; Sri Aurobindo, Rabindranath Tagore and Jawaharlal Nehru are perhaps the most outstanding of them. The disadvantages of nationalism, as developed in the West, are analysed by Tagore; Sri Aurobindo thought the ideal of world unity was implicit in recent social and political developments and Nehru added his support to the idea of world government. This apart, so long as world government remained an unattained ideal, it was necessary to build harmony among nations. Nehru's ideas on this subject are discussed including his emphasis on what he called 'the temper of peace'.[3] An interesting idea canvassed by Rajagopalachari was the application of Gandhi's idea of passive resistance to the field of international relations.

Impact of the Past on the Present

The survey next touches on the impact of the past on the present. Sri Aurobindo makes a thoughtful remark in his *The Spirit and Form of Indian Polity* (1918-21) that Indian thinkers of the previous generation had slavishly copied Western concepts and had contributed few original ideas to the sum total of political thinking. This view is briefly examined in chapter XI together with the influence which Indian traditional ideas exercised on recent and contemporary political thinking. Perhaps a more balanced view would be that political thinking in India during the last one hundred years is a blend of Indian tradition, Indian experience under British rule and Western (i.e. French, American and British) political experience and thought. Sri Aurobindo himself, Rajagopalachari and Gandhi stand out among the thinkers who evolved their own ideas on the basis of Indian tradition and experience, while they were fully aware of the trends of thought in other parts of the world.

It must be added that the focus in our survey is political *thought ;* the political development of India and the influence which political ideas exercised on political development are fascinating themes but are outside the field covered in the present survey. The effort has been to understand the basic ideas concerning the State and the relation between it and the individual which are revealed in the speeches and writings of the period.

In surveying political thought, as the preceding discussion

shows, ideas form the focus round which the subject is developed, not thinkers. The reason is simple : few writers (with two or three notable exceptions) developed a theory of the State; their ideas are gleaned from their discussion of specific issues; to develop the political thought of each thinker on the basis of available data would be attributing to them more than they themselves meant to convey and is best avoided in a historical survey.

In thus narrowing the scope of this book to cover political thought only (and not political action), the author realizes that there is the difficulty of seeing a time scale against the political thoughts which develop into theories as time passes and political action takes place. In part, Indian political thought was related to political action or inaction. For example, Naoroji's or Gokhale's thinking can hardly be understood except in the context of liberal British rule in India from which more was expected by way of self-government (see pp. 1-2). The significant dates are given in the text or in the Biographical Notes. In part, political thought was independent of political action, e.g. Sri Aurobindo's ideal of world unity (see pp. 142-4)

A process of selection of documents for study is also necessarily involved in an effort of this kind. The attempt has been to study documents which contain the basic political ideas of the period; where more than one document contains the same ideas, the more significant have been studied; further, documents for study have been selected relating not only to the ideas expressed by the more famous men such as Gandhi and Nehru but also to the ideas of lesser known persons if their ideas appeared worth presentation.

2 *SOURCE MATERIALS*

A striking feature of the political thought of the period is that while there were political ideas, there was no coherent theory of the State developed by the speakers and writers, with perhaps two or three exceptions (Dayananda, Sri Aurobindo and J. P. Narayan). Speakers and writers more often expressed themselves with reference to specific social and political problems. Two instances will illustrate the point. Malabari in the eighties of the last century was eager to have child marriage abolished; his concern was with the extent to which the help of the State

could be made use of to bring about social reform. M. K. Gandhi developed his theory of satyagraha in 1907-10 to meet the threat of racial discrimination against people of Indian origin in South Africa; and later to meet the situation created in India by the Jallianwala Bagh firing in 1919. The student has, therefore, to wade through numerous speeches and writings of social reformers, political workers and academic writers, to sift those that have a theoretical content and examine the social and political philosophy implicit in them.

These materials are available in plenty. The speeches of social and political leaders come first in importance. Not only may insight be gained into the conception of imperial rule which the dependent people held ; surprisingly there is also advice to the imperial rulers as to how their rule might be consolidated on the basis of consent and the association of the dependent people with the administration. Ram Mohan Roy, for instance, advised them on 19 September 1831 that the association of abler Indians with the administration would ensure that 'the natives may become attached to the present system of government so that it may become consolidated.....and not any longer stand isolated in the middle of its subjects supporting itself merely by the execution of superior force'.[4] That consent, not force, should be the basis of the State is the burden of the Presidential Addresses to the Indian National Congress year after year—not a new idea by any means, but important enough for a dependent people to impress upon their imperial rulers when Fitzjames Stephen had explicitly stated in 1883 that superior force was the foundation of British rule : 'It is essentially an absolute government founded, not on consent, but on conquest.'

The speeches with a political content were delivered with prepared texts or extempore, not only at the annual sessions of the Indian National congress, the All-India Muslim League, the Hindu Mahasabha and the Social Conference, but also at provincial Conferences and at several public meetings arranged by organizations to win public support to the causes in which they were interested. Universities, learned societies and political clubs (such as the National Liberal Club , London), the Imperial Legislative Council and later the Indian Constituent Assembly and the Indian Parliament also provided forums for the exposition of political principles.

If speeches of the type referred to above are important sources for the study of political thought, the writings of the period are perhaps even more important as they can, normally, be expected to contain the well-considered views of the writer from a long-term point of view. These writings can be classified under six heads :

(*i*) *Essays.* In this category come chapter VI of *Satyartha Prakash* (1875-83) in which Swami Dayananda develops a theory of politics; *Nationalism* (1920) and *Crisis in Civilization* (1941) by Rabindranath Tagore; *The Ideal of World Unity* (1950) by Sri Aurobindo; *Democratic Socialism: Mid Twentieth-Century Thesis* (1951) by Asoka Mehta ; *Reason, Romanticism and Revolution* (1955) by M. N. Roy in which the author develops a purely materialistic theory of State and Society in which no authority, other than human, can have a rational basis ; and *Reconstruction of Indian Polity* (1959) by Jayaprakash Narayan in which the author sets out to describe 'the main outline of the polity which to my mind is not only most suited for us, but is also most rational and scientific, with a brief statement of the reason for my views'.

(*ii*) *Autobiographies. A Nation in Making* (1925) by Surendranath Banerjea, *My Experiments with Truth* (1927, 1929) by M. K. Gandhi, *Toward Freedom* (1942) by J. Nehru, *India Wins Freedom* (1959) by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad and *At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi* (1961) by Rajendra Prasad are among the more important of the autobiographies consulted for this survey. Autobiographies, obviously, offer an insight into the mind of the author who reviews his own life including his activities and thinking in a manner not obtainable elsewhere.

(*iii*) *Works on Contemporary political issues of importance.* In this category are *The Political Future of India* (1919) by Lajpat Rai, *Swadeshi and Boycott* (1931) by Subhas Chandra Bose, *Thoughts on Pakistan* (1941) by B. R. Ambedkar and *India Divided* (1946) by Rajendra Prasad. These are specially valuable for the ideas of the time on such concepts as Nation and State, and on the significance of political methods which were advocated, such as swadeshi and boycott.

(*iv*) *Articles in Periodicals.* The better known of the periodicals in which important political articles appeared are *Indian Opinion, Young India* and *Harijan* through which M. K. Gandhi developed

his ideas on satyagraha; *Bande Mataram* in which Sri Aurobindo's early thoughts appeared ; *Swarajya* which contained Articles by C. Rajagopalachari; and the *Modern Review*. The forum of such periodicals was also used for the publication of interviews with political leaders. Among the more well-known is the interview with Mahatma Gandhi prepared by N. K. Bose and published in the *Modern Review* (1935). Occasionally interviews with political leaders have also been published in book form. A notable example of such a book is *The Mind of Mr. Nehru : An Interview* by R. K. Karanjia (1960).

(*v*) *Symposia.* Two may be mentioned as illustrations of this type of source material: *Mahatma Gandhi: Essays and Reflections on his life and work* (1939) and *India at the Cross-Roads* (1965).

(*vi*) *Letters. Letters of Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri* (1944); *Gandhi-Jinnah Talks: Text of Correspondence and other relevant Matters* (1944); *Justice on Trial* (1958) being a Collection of Letters between Golwalkar and the Government of India 1948-49; and *A Bunch of Old Letters : Written mostly to Jawaharlal Nehru and some written by him* (1959).

3 THE POLITICAL BACKGROUND

Before we close this brief introduction, it will be useful to provide a short political background of the period, to enable the reader to appreciate the environment in which political ideas were developed by India's leaders and thinkers.

Speaking in the House of Commons on the Charter Bill of 1833, Macaulay, who then held the post of Secretary to the Board of Control (which exercised supreme supervisory authority in respect of Indian affairs), said : 'It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system till it has outgrown that system ; that by good government we may educate our subjects into a capacity for better government ; that, having become instructed in European knowledge, they may in some future age demand European institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. But never will I attempt to avert it or retard it. Whenever it comes it will be the proudest day in English history.' The history of India from 1833 to 1947 is a commentary on this pronouncement. For the first three or four decades there was hardly any political consciousness in the country as now understood ; such attention as was devoted by

the elite to public affairs was to social reform. Any credit for the mobilization of political thought should be given to the educational system introduced from England by Macaulay. In 1857 the Universities of Madras, Bombay and Calcutta were established, and their impact began gradually to be felt. From 1861 Indians began to be increasingly associated with the administration of the country.

The Indian intellectuals who then read the classics of English liberal thought were dissatisfied with the association of Indians with the administration in a subordinate capacity. They also followed the development of self-governing institutions in other parts of the British Empire such as Canada. The formation of the Indian National Congress in 1885 symbolizes a growing political consciousness. Nevertheless it is significant that for the first twenty years, the demands of the Congress were modest: the expansion of the legislatures into representative institutions; the extension of the jury system; the appointment of Indians to the Privy Council; the expansion of technical education; simultaneous Indian Civil Service examinations in India and in England; the modification of the Arms Act and the establishment of military colleges. Led by such statesmen as Pherozeshah Mehta, Surendranath Banerjea and G. K. Gokhale, the line of activity the Congress pursued was to apply constitutional pressure both in India and in England through newspapers and from the platform.

National consciousness began to grow apace. We have noted earlier that the development of transport and communications through the railways, post, telegraph and press helped the growth of such consciousness. The first popular movement began under the leadership of B. G. Tilak in Maharashtra in the 1890's and the partition of Bengal (1905) gave a great fillip and a radical turn to the nationalist movement. It is significant that in 1906 Dadabhai Naoroji, in his Presidential address to the annual session of the Indian National Congress, placed before the people *swaraj* or self-government as the goal to be attained.

Not only was there an expressed demand for self-government as contrasted with the earlier demands for the association of Indians with the administration; the Congress split into two sections, the Moderates and the Extremists, the Extremists relying more on the direct method as contrasted with the consti-

tutional approach of the Moderates. B. G. Tilak in Bombay and B. C. Pal and Sri Aurobindo in Bengal led the 'direct method' school* advocating in particular the boycott of British goods and passive resistance. The schism was marked in the Surat Congress of 1907; the Extremists reappeared on the Congress scene only in 1916 at Lucknow. From that time the Extremists captured the machinery of the Congress, and the Moderates held their separate Conference beginning at Bombay in 1918.

While political consciousness among the educated people was growing, the authorities were also taking note of it and, through the reforms of 1892 and 1909, introduced an elective element in to the legislature. Morley, the author of the reforms of 1909, however, disclaimed that his proposals led directly or necessarily to the establishment of a parliamentary system in India. The war of 1914-18 had a remarkable effect on the attitude of both the rulers and the ruled. In India there was a great quickening of political consciousness at all levels of society. The Home Rule movement led by Mrs Annie Besant and Tilak created considerable enthusiasm among the mass of the people. In England, too, there was a good deal of rethinking and re-evaluation of old policies, and these led to the historic announcement of 20 August, 1917 : 'The policy of His Majesty's Government, with which the Government of India are in complete accord, is that of the increasing association of Indians in every branch of the administration and the gradual development of self-governing institutions with a view to the progressive realization of responsible government in India as an integral part of the British Empire.....I would add that progress in this policy can only be achieved by successive stages. The British Government and the Government of India, on whom the responsibility lies for the welfare and advancement of the Indian peoples, must be the judges of the time and measure of each advance, and they must be guided by the co-operation received from those upon whom new opportunities of service will thus be conferred and by the extent to which it is found that confidence can be reposed in their sense of responsibility.' The Government of

*When the people approach the Government through the constituted authorities, such as the legislature, for the gaining of their political objectives, we term the approach 'constitutional method'. When they resort to demonstrations and civil disobediences, the approach is called 'direct method'.

India Act, 1919, which came into operation on 1 January, 1921, was the first step towards the realization of this goal.

The Reform proposals were received quite well at the beginning. When the question came up before the full session of the Indian National Congress at Amritsar, Gandhi, who had recently entered the Indian political scene, arguing against the extremist stand for rejection, said, 'If I get a sour loaf I reject it, and I do not take it. But if I get a loaf which is not enough, which has not sufficient condiments in it, I shall use it, I shall add condiments to it and take a bit.....The King Emperor has extended a hand of fellowship. Mr Montagu (the Secretary of State for India) has extended the hand of fellowship. Do not reject the advance. The Indian culture demands trust and full trust, and if you are sufficiently manly we shall not be afraid of the future.' And the Congress passed a resolution promising to co-operate, to so work the reforms as to secure the early establishment of full responsible government. Moderate leaders were full of enthusiasm. Surendranath Banerjea, in his Presidential address to the First All-India Conference of the Moderate Party, referring to the hand of fellowhip that had been offered by Britain, said : 'Let us grasp it with alacrity and enthusiasm; and in co-operation with British statesmen let us march forward to the accomplishment of the high destinies that, under the providence of God, are in store for us.' But this spirit was short-lived. The Punjab disturbances culminating in the tragedy of Jallianwala Bagh and the publication of the Turkish peace terms effected a speedy and startling change. The Duke of Connaught, who inaugurated the new constitution on 1 January 1921, saw 'bitterness and estrangement between those who have been and should be friends', and the shadow of Amritsar lengthened 'over the fair face of India'. Faith and trust had given place to disappointment and distrust. Gandhi, who had fought for a policy of co-operation in working the reforms, came to feel that 'not only did the reforms not mark a change of heart but they were only a method of further draining India of her wealth and of prolonging servitude'. And this lack of confidence in British claims of maintaining good faith persisted till the achievement of independence in 1947, and there was little room for constitutional development through a policy of co-operation between India and Britain as envisaged by the announcement of 1917.

Gandhi led a non-co-operation movement primarily as a protest against the Rowlatt Acts passed after the Punjab disturbances. It is not widely known that while Gandhi dominated the scene and he was supported by several distinguished persons—Jawaharlal Nehru, Rajendra Prasad and others—there were also critics of non-co-operation such as C. Vijayaraghavachariar, Surendranath Banerjea and Lala Lajpat Rai—all Presidents of the Congress—and V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, the liberal leader. The non-co-operation movement was abandoned when violence began to break out.

The challenge of the nationalist movement, asserting its claims for Indian independence of the British, provoked an evident response from the Governments of India and Britain. A section of Congressmen, the Swarajists, led by C. R. Das, attempted to wreck the councils from within. The Simon Commission, which was appointed to inquire into the working of the Constitution and suggest further measures of reform in 1927, was boycotted with appreciable success. The Nehru Report on the future Constitution for India was produced by the All-Parties Conference, the first of its kind, in 1928. The first Round Table Conference was summoned in London in 1929 to discuss the future Indian Constitution. These events show the challenge of the nationalist movement to achieve complete independence, and the response of the government to it. When it was found that the Round Table Conference announced in October 1929 was not to function as a constituent assembly to draw up a Dominion Constitution for India, the Lahore Congress that year, under Gandhi's lead, decided to boycott the Conference and declare itself for complete independence. Gandhi started another civil disobedience movement in connexion with the salt laws; and the Congress organization was directed to the task of 'bringing Government to its knees' by boycott and passive resistance. The pact of March 1931 between Gandhi and Lord Irwin, the Viceroy, led to the end of civil disobedience, and Gandhi's participation in the second Round Table Conference. The Conference did not achieve all its aims; a joint Parliamentary Committee Report led to the passing of the Government of India Act, 1935. The Act provided for full responsible government in the provinces, subject to certain restrictions. At the centre it provided for the establishment of a Federation of British

Indian Provinces and Indian States, and popular control was to extend, speaking generally, over all subjects except Defence, Foreign Affairs and Ecclesiastical Affairs. While the provisions in respect of the Provinces were in force from 1937 to 1947, the proposed Federation never came into being, partly because of communal disharmony in the country and partly because of the Second World War of 1939-45. Disagreement between the Congress and the Muslim League, founded in 1906 to protect the communal interests of the Muslims, had occurred over several political issues, notably on the question of separate electorates and the weightage to be given to Muslims in the legislatures. The announcement of 1917 had, as we have noted earlier, envisaged the ultimate transfer of responsibility to Indian hands and the steps taken in 1919-21 to effect partial transfer had given rise to bitter feelings ; allegations real or fanciful were made against the Congress Ministries formed in several provinces up to 1939 and Jinnah became the leader of the movement for the partition of India and the formation of Pakistan.

The Japanese attack on Pearl Harbour in December 1941 and their rapid march culminating in the invasion of Burma brought the war to India's doors. The British Government felt that the emergency called for an all-out effort to enlist India's support in waging the war and sent Sir Stafford Cripps, Lord Privy Seal of the Cabinet, to negotiate a settlement with the Indian leaders. The negotiations failed and the Congress, on 8 August 1942, passed the well-known 'Quit India' resolution, demanding immediate, complete and unconditional withdrawal by the British regardless of the consequences. To enforce the demand, a mass civil disobedience movement was launched. The movement was suppressed by imprisoning those who resorted to civil disobedience.

Until the war came to an end, the political impasse continued. A Cabinet Mission was sent by the Labour Government in 1946 to find a solution to the Indian problem; that Government had declared its firm decision to quit India at a very early date after making the best possible arrangements for handing over power. Suffice it to say that the Cabinet Mission was not successful in finding a solution, and that the final formula was worked out, when Lord Mountbatten was the Viceroy of India, on the

basis of partition of India into India and Pakistan. The Indian Independence Act, 1947, completed the process of the realization of responsible government in India envisaged in the Announcement of 1917—though not in the manner nor with the results envisaged at that time. The rights of paramountcy wielded by the British Crown over the Indian States were also declared to have lapsed, and they were advised, in their own interests, to accede to one or the other of the two States that had come into being.

The contemporary history of India after she became independent on 15 August, 1947, can be told very briefly. The making of a democratic constitution, on the parliamentary model, with a President as head of the State and a Council of Ministers to advise him—on the British pattern—was completed and came into effect on 26 January, 1950. Four general elections have been held since; on the whole, they have been free from political influence and fair to the voters and the candidates. Rajendra Prasad was elected the first President. Dr. S. Radhakrishnan succeeded him as President in 1962, Dr. Zakir Husain succeeded Dr. Radhakrishnan as Presidentin 1967, and V.V. Giri succeeded Dr. Zakir Husain in 1969. Jawaharlal Nehru continued to be Prime Minister from 1947 till he passed away in 1964. Lal Bahadur Shastri succeeded Nehru as Prime Minister in 1964, and Mrs. Indira Gandhi succeeded Shastri in 1966.

In relation to political thought, the following trends in recent development are relevant. The democratic constitution has been working reasonably well, though it has raised a host of problems—social, economic and political. Social policies have been aimed at reducing such social inequalities as are inconsistent with the Government's conception of democracy. The aim of four Five-Year Plans has been to satisfy the reasonable expectations of the poor of improving their living standards. The emphasis of the Planning Commission investment programme was, in the early years, on industry rather than agriculture. The outstanding political problem is how political stability can be achieved with numerous political parties and factions in existence. The aim of political organization in India is stated by four major political parties, the Congress, Communists, SSP and PSP, to be to evolve a socialist society, though there have been vigorous critics of socialism notably C. Rajagopalachari,

the last Governor-General of India, who founded the Swatantra Party which represents the interests of the larger landowners and the urban industrialists. Of the non-socialist parties to have developed in recent years the most important is perhaps the Jana Sangh.

Vinoba Bhave, a close associate of Gandhi, started the *Bhoodan* movement in 1951 which aims at a just redistribution of land. Closely connected with the *Bhoodan* movement is the *Sarvodaya* movement led by Jayaprakash Narayan, which tries to implement Gandhi's ideas on social and political reconstruction : limitation of material ambitions, advocacy of non-violence, economic equality, and political and economic decentralization.

The strength of support for such political ideas is not necessarily assessed by looking at the votes cast in favour of parties advocating them. People may vote for a party for reasons other than its stated ideas ; 'socialism' becomes a trade-mark for respectability in the world of left-wing politics. A general term like 'socialism' or 'democracy' may mean something quite different in an Indian context to what it means outside India. Support for a party which espouses 'socialism' does not necessarily mean that the voters want any particular brand of 'socialism'; they may feel that their interests, perhaps based on economics, religion, caste or region, or a combination of these, may be more satisfactorily safeguarded by such a party. Consequently, the freedom of the party to pursue its ideological commitment, is limited relative to the pressures of those groups from which it derives its popular electoral support.

1

A DEPENDENT PEOPLE'S CONCEPTION OF IMPERIAL RULE

1 MERITS AND DEFECTS OF IMPERIAL RULE

What were the thoughts of leading Indian intellectuals on the merits and defects of alien rule?

Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), Gopal Krishna Gokhale (1866-1915), Rabindranath Tagore (1861-1941) and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) may be taken as among the most influential of the intellectuals. 'The Western type of administrative machinery has been substituted in place of what once we had', said Gokhale in 1905, 'The country enjoys now uninterrupted peace and order. Justice, though costly, is fairly dispensed, as between Indian and Indian..... Then you have introduced Western education, with freedom of speech and freedom of writing. These are all things that stand to your credit.'[1] Nehru added in his *Toward Freedom* (1942) that there was much truth in the British claim that Britain had brought to India Western conceptions of parliamentary government and personal liberties, and by transforming British India into a single unitary State it had engendered amongst Indians a sense of political unity and thus fostered the beginnings of nationalism. Besides, the British could take credit for having first opened India's window to the West and brought her one aspect of Western industrialism and science, introducing what he called the heralds of industrialism such as the railway, telegraph, telephone, wireless and the like.[2] C. Sankaran Nair told the Indian National Congress in his Presidential Address in 1897 that the British Government in India provided, as an alien Government, a strictly secular rule so that, in a multi-religious society, as in India, true impartiality was preserved in respect of social and religious reform.[3]

While acknowledging the undoubted merits of imperial rule, Nehru added a footnote: 'As a matter of fact, the changes that have taken place in India during the last century or more

have been world changes common to most countries in East and West. The growth of industrialism in Western Europe, and later on in the rest of the world, brought nationalism and the strong unitary State in its train everywhere.'[4] Would it be perverse if it was suggested, he asked, that some progress of this kind would have come to India in this industrial age even without British rule? However, in Nehru's view, the British, who had themselves helped in the beginnings of industrialism, tried to impede its further progress when the British export trade to India became threatened. On the economic side, Gokhale held the view that British rule had produced disastrous results in that insufficient attention had been paid to raising the living standards of the people due to 'the growing military expenditure' and 'the increasing Home Charges'.*[5] Dadabhai Naoroji held that '.....the material destruction and impoverishment of India.....was mainly caused by the unnatural treatment it received at the hands of its British rulers, in the way of subjecting it to a large variety of expenditure upon a (financially) crushing foreign agency both in India and England, whereby the children of the country were displaced and deprived of their natural rights and means of subsistence'.[6] According to Tagore and Nehru, the economic evils arose from the police conception of the state which the British applied to India. 'In India', wrote Rabindranath Tagore in his *Crisis in Civilization* (1941), 'the misfortune of being governed by a foreign race is daily brought home to us not only in the callous neglect of such minimum necessities of life as adequate provision for food, clothing, educational and medical facilities for the people, but in an even unhappier form in the way the people have been divided among themselves'.[7] The Government's job, Nehru said, was to protect the State and leave the rest to others. The expenditure on its protective and administrative functions was terribly heavy and swallowed up most of the revenue.

*'Home charges' refers to 'the dividends on East India stock interest on Home Debt, the salaries of officers and establishments and cost of buildings connected with the Home Department of the Indian Government, furlough and retired pay to members of the Indian Military and Civil Services when at home, charges of all descriptions paid in this country connected with British troops serving in India, and a portion of the cost of transporting British troops to and from India'. (Wingate, *Our Financial Relations with India* [London, 1859], pp. 56-64.)

The economic and cultural needs of the citizens were not looked after: universal education, improvement of public health, care of the poor and the insurance of workers against illness, old age and unemployment.

On the moral side, the main defect, according to Gokhale, was 'the steady dwarfing of the race in consequence of its exclusion from power. Our natural abilities, owing to sheer disuse, are growing less and less, and this stunting is, in my opinion, an enormous evil.'[8] This apart, Naoroji held that the British ruling class in India did not supply the leadership which people could expect of them: they were foreigners and, socially, they held themselves aloof. Besides, such experience and wisdom as they gained in India was lost to the country when they went back to Britain. 'Nationally disastrous as it is', Naoroji wrote to the Under-Secretary of State for India in 1880, 'it carries politically its own Nemesis. Without the guidance of elderly wisdom and experience of their own natural leaders, the education which the rising generations are now receiving is naturally leading them (or call it misleading them if you will) into directions which bode no good to the rulers, and which, instead of being the strength of the rulers, as it ought to be and can be, will turn out to be their great weakness.'[9]

And, finally, Nehru in 1942: an authoritarian system of government, and especially one that is foreign, must encourage a psychology of subservience and try to limit the mental outlook and horizon of the people. 'It must crush much that is finest in youth—enterprise, spirit of adventure, originality, "pep" —and encourage sneakiness, rigid conformity and a desire to cringe and please the bosses.'[10]

From the point of view of political science, it is relevant to note that, in a speech to the New Reform Club, London, in 1905, Gokhale attributed the defects of alien rule to the system of bureaucracy established by the British. Bureaucracy, has, according to him, three defects. As the system is highly centralized and as the key officials serve the country only for a limited period, they are not in a position to be able to identify themselves constantly with the interests of the people; the exclusion of the Indian educated classes from power creates discontent; the officials look at every question in relation to

the maintenance of their own authority. The interests of the people are subordinated to this consideration. Mazumdar, addressing the Indian National Congress as its President in 1916, added that the bureaucracy was extremely jealous of its powers and intolerant of criticism. 'It sincerely wishes to see the people happy and contented, only it cannot allow them to grow' (i.e. towards self-government).[11]

The basic defect which the intellectuals found in the British may perhaps be summarized in a pithy sentence from Macaulay: 'The heaviest of all yokes is the yoke of the stranger.'[12] When a dependent people become politically conscious, they begin to desire to run their own affairs, even though a benevolent foreign ruler might be more efficient administratively. The fact that from 1917 the British adopted the policy of 'the progressive realization of self-government' indicates their appreciation of this political idea.

It is not within the scope of this survey to examine the historical validity of the ideas referred to above; that task may well be left to the political and the economic historians. It is, however, relevant to state (1) that Nehru added that it would be absurd to cast the blame for all India's ills on the British. 'That responsibility must be shouldered by us, and we may not shirk it, it is unseemly to blame others for the inevitable consequences of our own weaknesses.'[13] (2) Gokhale was not prepared to say that the disadvantages of British rule were greater than its advantages.[14] (3) Naoroji wrote: 'True, British rule will vastly benefit both Britain and India. My whole object in all my writings is to impress upon the British people that instead of a disastrous explosion of the British Indian Empire, as must be the result of the present dishonourable un-British system of government, there is a great and glorious future for Britain and India to an extent inconceivable at present if the British people will awaken to their duty, will be true to British instincts of fair play and justice.'[15] (4) Tagore has noted that his 'good fortune' has often brought him into close touch with really large-hearted Englishmen. 'Without the slightest hesitation I may say that the nobility of their character was without parallel —in no country or community have I come across such greatness of soul. Such examples would not allow me wholly to lose faith in the race which produced them.'[16]

2 *THE CONTINUANCE OF IMPERIAL RULE DESIRED*

It is remarkable that up to the end of the nineteenth-century, most thinking men in India thought of the British connexion with India as something which must continue indefinitely for the larger good of India and England, and they thought of ways and means of stabilizing it. Thus Naoroji: 'In this rule there is every element to produce immeasurable good, both to India and England, and no thinking native of India would wish harm to it'.[17] Syed Ahmed even told a meeting of Muslims at Meerut in 1888 that 'The English government should remain for many years, in fact for ever'.[18]

Of the means suggested, the most important was, quite naturally from the point of view of a dependent people, that the contentment of the people, not force, must be the basis of government. Pherozeshah Mehta, for many years a leading political figure of Bombay, advanced three reasons in 1883 why force should not be emphasized: India maintained by England by the power of her armies would be a heavy burden on her in case of her being involved in European complications; the policy of force 'would require day by day larger English armies and larger English Civil Services and in progress of time large numbers of Englishmen trained in the maxims of despotism and saturated with autocratic predilections would return to their native home, where they could not but look with intolerance on free and constitutional forms' and with 'a policy of force ...the resources of India would be drained in the first instance in maintaining large costly armies and huge services; the country would be thus too impoverished to admit of her developing the great material resources which Nature has showered on her. In India, impoverished and emasculated, the English merchant would only be an emaciated attendant in the rear of the English soldier and the English civilian, and English commercial enterprise, more glorious even than her military enterprise, would find no congenial field.'[19]

R. C. Dutt, a retired Civil Servant, said in 1898, that 'Military people sometimes asserted that India was conquered and held by the sword', but he 'maintained without hesitation that India was won by good government and held by good government'.[20] In the last century when the central power of the Moghul

Emperors had gone to pieces, when lawless freebooters swept through the country, when State warred against State and tribe warred against tribe, British power appeared on the scene as the one power which could give the country peace and rest and settled government and a just administration. The people saw this, and spontaneously gave their support to this power. Trust will beget trust, according to Madan Mohan Malaviya (1861-1946); this will add to the affection of the people and will add generally to the happiness and prosperity of the inhabitants of the Empire; and the glory to England will be great.[21]

'The contentment of the people was indeed a priceless asset', said Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925); the authority for this view was cited as the Proclamation of Queen Victoria in 1858, that the strength of the Empire 'lay in the contentment of Her people'.[22]

Two specific suggestions to stabilize British rule may be briefly referred to: the fixing of land revenue due from the cultivators and freedom of the press. The loyalty of the people to imperial rule, said R. C. Dutt, was best secured by 'fixing for ever the public demand on land... I am able to state ...that if the object of the permanent settlement of 1793 was to create a thoroughly loyal class of landlords and a prosperous class of peasantry in Bengal that object has succeeded beyond all expectation'.[23]

On freedom of the press as a factor contributing to the stability of an alien government, it is sufficient to quote Kristodas Pal, Editor, *Hindu Patriot*, who said in 1875: 'Marvellous as has been the success of British rule in the East ...that success could hardly have been achieved if the English rulers of India had not from the beginning availed themselves of Indian experience, Indian Counsel and Indian Co-operation..... The conductors of the native press are the unpaid interpreters of the Government and the nation: they ... endeavour to interpret the Governors to the governed and the governed to the Governors, loyally and faithfully..... I believe really thoughtful and enlightened Englishmen, who care more for the character and permanency of British rule as an engine of good for the millions under its sway than for their own temporary and limited interests, like such outspokenness.'[24] Pal might also have added, though he did not, that had the Indian Press

presented a serious threat to the maintenance of British rule its freedom would not have been tolerated.

Reference may also briefly be made to the rather original ideas put forward by F. Bomanji, sometime Principal of Elphinstone College, Bombay, in his little-known work *Lights and Shades of the East* (1863), to support limited British emigration to India as a means of stabilizing imperial rule. Provided a limited number of men of energy and intelligence and capital from Britain were encouraged to settle down in India permanently, they would prove sturdy soldiers being already acclimatized to the tropical conditions. The presence of wealthy and independent settlers would provide a check against arbitrary administration; they would impart knowledge, skill and industry to the mass of the population by their example. If England has to govern India as a trust—and no other power is in sight, and if any one is in sight such as Russia or France, it is not to be preferred to England—it would be good to encourage emigration as a means of developing the resources of the country and thereby encouraging trade.

The difficulties faced by the British Government on account of the unilateral declaration of Independence by the illegal regime in Rhodesia, and the consequent threat to international law and security, are a reminder that unforseeable and unfortunate consequences might have followed if Bomanji's well-meant advice had been acted upon.

3 *THE DUTIES OF AN IMPERIAL POWER*

If, as Naoroji said, the patriotism of the native in the nineteenth-century lay in his desire for prolonged English rule, that native had also a fair conception of the duties of the government to the people. And, correctly, he referred to the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 as his authority: 'When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is Our earnest desire...to administer its government for the benefit of all Our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be Our strength, in their contentment Our security, and in their gratitude Our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us strength to carry out these Our wishes for the good of Our people.'[25] What is

the content of 'the good of Our people' as the Indian citizen thought of it?

Two influential opinions may be cited—of Bomanji in 1863 and of Sayani, President of the Indian National Congress in 1896. The duties of government, wrote Bomanji in *Lights and Shades of the East* (1863), 'are now comprehended in the defence of the Empire from external invasion, the repression of internal violence, the impartial distribution of justice, the preservation of an equilibrium, if not a surplus, in the exchequer, the encouragement of trade, the development of the country's natural resources, the construction of roads and other works of public utility, and the social advancement of the people...we would urge the necessity of the education and moral amelioration of India'.[26] And Sayani: 'It is the duty of England to study the interest, the happiness and the welfare of the people of India ...the people of India should be associated in the administration of the country...all disabilities in regard to public employment should be removed'.[27]

On the education of the people as the foremost duty of government, Gokhale was even more specific and insistent. He pointed out in a speech in the Imperial Legislative Council in 1903 that in Europe, America, Japan and Australia, the principle had been fully recognized that one of the most important duties of a government was to promote the widest possible diffusion of education among its subjects, not only on moral but economic grounds. Citing Professor Tews' essay, *Popular Education and National Economic Development*, he told the Imperial Legislative Council in 1911 that an ignorant and illiterate nation could never make any solid progress and was bound to fall back in the race of life. The widespread diffusion of elementary education was urgent; the only way the world had discovered to secure universal education was by making it compulsory and free. No one was so simple, he added, as to imagine that a system of universal education would necessarily mean an end to all their ills, or that it would open out a new heaven and a new earth. Men and women would continue to struggle with their imperfections; poverty would not be banished because illiteracy had been removed. 'But with the diffusion of universal education, the mass of our countrymen will have a better chance in life. With universal education, there will be hope of better success

for all efforts, official or non-official, for the amelioration of the people—their social progress, their moral improvement, their economic well-being.'[28]

Other duties of the Government are listed by Naoroji in a paper presented to the East India Association in 1867 as giving some share to the educated natives of India in administration, kind treatment of, and ordinary courtesy towards, the people and giving them 'some representative voice in the government of the country'. The idea that it was also the duty of the Imperial Government to introduce responsible government gradually was mentioned by Indian thinkers as early as 1863 (Bomanji : 'England holds India only as a ward and she has to rear it as a trust; and after it has attained to the position of self-management, she will leave it independent, connected only in bonds of mutual assistance in trade and enlightenment)'[29]; the demand, however, became politically significant only later and will be dealt with in the next chapter.

Mention must finally be made of a suggestion by R. C. Dutt in an article in the *Fortnightly* of August 1897, that the Imperial Power should pay a share of the military expenditure incurred in the dependency to the extent that maintenance of the army also served imperial interests; it would not be impossible, he thought, to ascertain roughly what proportion of the military expenditure of India was incurred for England's imperial purposes and the defence of her distant possessions in Africa and in Asia. He buttressed his argument by pointing out that a pledge had been given, when India passed under the direct rule of the Crown, that the cost of wars outside India would not be charged to India. A similar view was given in evidence by Sir Henry Brackenbury, Military Member of the Viceroy's Council, before the Royal Commission on Expenditure in 1897 :'.....it seems to me that India, being held by Great Britain not only for India's sake but for Great Britain's sake, the latter should pay a share of the expenditure of the purpose'.

4 *SOCIAL RELATIONS BETWEEN THE RULERS AND THE RULED*

In Naoroji's analysis of the shortcomings of imperial rule discussed earlier, the social aloofness of the ruling class was listed as one defect. Could improved social relations between them and the ruled make the administration more successful?

Two views on the subject available in the records of the period merit attention. Legislation, taxation and proper government require intimate knowledge of a people; and, to be successful in administration, the Government should, therefore, understand the feelings, habits and institutions of the people over whom it holds sway. To achieve this object, said Sattianathan in a paper 'Social Intercourse between Europeans and Indians' (1901), a more intimate relation between Europeans and Indians should develop. The mere formation of social clubs, to which both Europeans and Indians were admitted, would not, however, suffice. Conscious efforts, he said, should be made by members of both groups to overcome social prejudices and to ensure that they mixed freely and inter-communication was established. 'Natives ought to be admitted socially to the conversational circles of Europeans. They ought not to be regarded as an inferior race, altogether unfitted for polite society. They have, of course, their peculiarities as much as other people; but it is by the constant collision of friendly intercommunication that the angles of difference are broken off and polished down. Although it is said that familiarity breeds contempt, yet there are not wanting instances in which, when it has once been established, people have come to esteem one another, whatever may be their national antipathies. The educated Natives, on the other hand, must try to make themselves acceptable to Europeans by adopting a grateful and gentlemanly bearing, and a polished and courteous mode of address. They ought always to be loyal to Englishmen for what they have done and intend doing for India.'[30]

In a paper 'East and West in India' read at the Universal Races Congress in London in July 1911, Gokhale, while generally subscribing to these ideas, thought that the promotion of social relations between the rulers and the ruled had also its limitations: it cannot carry us far so long as the consciousness of political inequality continues to be behind such intercourse. 'The soul of social friendship is mutual appreciation and respect, which ordinarily is not found to co-exist with a consciousness of inequality. This does not mean that where equality does not exist, the relations are necessarily unfriendly. It is not an uncommon thing for a party which is in what may be called a state of subordinate dependence on another to be warmly attached

to that other party. But such relations are only possible, if the subordinate party, assuming, of course, that its sense of self-respect is properly developed, is enabled to feel that its dependent state is necessary in its own interest and that the other party is taking no undue advantage of it for other ends.' [31] Briefly, the promotion of social relations between Indians and Englishmen would have a beneficial effect on administration if, on the one hand, Indians realized that British rule was necessary for their progress, and, on the other, British policy in India had no other aim than the advancement of the interests of the Indian people. The mutual realization of these joint interests would help to promote freer social intercourse, and thereby have a beneficial effect on the administration of government.

5 THE STATE AND SOCIAL REFORM

It has been mentioned earlier that the primary concern of thinking men for the greater part of the nineteenth century, at any rate up to 1880, was with social and cultural reform, not with constitutional change. The desirability—or the undesirability—of the social reforms then under public discussion—the abolition of suttee and infanticide, the abolition of early marriage and polygamy, encouragement of widow remarriage, and the undertaking of foreign travel (without thereby losing caste)—is not within the scope of our survey. Starting with the premise that these social reforms were desired by one section of the community and opposed by another, our concern is to see how far, according to the thinking of the time, the State should have intervened to bring about such reforms.

The basic idea of those who opposed social legislation may be stated thus: immemorial customs, based on religion, were not a matter to be lightly interfered with by the Government, especially by an alien Government. That the Government had to observe neutrality in socio-religious matters was supported by the argument that the British Government had pledged itself not to interfere with the religious rights of its Indian subjects (as, for example, in the Queen's Proclamation of 1858). The work of social reform cannot be accomplished merely by the passing of an Act of State. It is valuable only when it is the work of a people by their own voluntary efforts, out of conviction;

social legislation will be a dead letter when the conviction that the change is essential is not there.

That the Government of India accepted in part these arguments of what may be called the 'Status Quo School' is clear from the famous Resolution of 1886 passed by it : when caste or custom lays down a rule which is by its nature enforceable in the civil courts, but is clearly opposed to morality or public policy, the State will decline to enforce it. When caste or custom lays down a rule which deals with such matters as are usually left to the option of citizens, and which does not need the aid of civil or criminal courts for its enforcement, State interference is not considered either desirable or expedient. Legislation, though it may be didactic in its intent, should not be undertaken for didactic reasons alone; and in the conflict of influence between legislation on the one hand, and caste or custom on the other, the condition of success for legislation is that the Legislature should keep within its natural boundaries, and should not, by overstepping those boundaries, place itself in direct antagonism to public opinion on social problems.

It is interesting to note, before we take up the ideas of progressive thinkers on social legislation, that the great nationalist leader, B. G. Tilak (1856-1920), was also opposed to social legislation. In part his opposition was based on the belief that coercion was undesirable and that voluntary efforts would achieve the desired social reform : 'We have often pointed out', he wrote in the *Mahratta* on 15 February 1891, 'that we are not against the particular reform (the Age of Consent Bill) advocated. Individually, we would be prepared to go even further than what the Government proposes to do, but we are certainly not prepared to force our views upon the large mass of orthodox people..... We have every confidence that in time most of the reforms now preached would be gradually accepted.'[32] His major objection, however, was that a people seeking liberation from foreign domination should refrain from getting help from the foreign rulers in solving their social problems. It was humiliating, morally wrong and socially weakening to ask for legislation by them to curb a domestic social evil; 'education and not legislation is the proper method for eradicating the evil'.[33]

The arguments briefly summarized above were vigorously attacked by progressive thinkers. We shall summarize Ranade's political analysis of the problem as that may be said to set the standard on the subject; Ranade was for some years a judge of the Bombay High Court. In an essay entitled 'State Legislation in Social Matters' written towards the end of the nineteenth century, Ranade advocated 'to some extent the help of State regulation, as representing the highest and most disinterested wisdom of the times, working to give effect to the other tendencies, concentrating and popularizing them'.[34]

Was it the duty of the State to regulate social questions?—asked the critic. Ranade's answer went to the heart of the matter: 'The State in its collective capacity represents the power, the wisdom, the mercy and charity, of its best citizens. What a single man, or a combination of men, can best do on their own account, that the State may not do, but it cannot shirk its duty if it sees its way to remedy evils, which no private combination of men can check adequately or which it can deal with more speedily and effectively than any private combination of men can do. In these latter cases, the State's regulating action has its sphere of duty marked out clearly.'[35] The regulation of the age for marriage and the protection of the widow clearly came within the sphere of State action.

Were the evils of child marriage, enforced widowhood and unrestricted polygamy, quantitatively so great as to call for state action?—the critic asked. Ranade thought that there was some truth in the criticism, for, in his view, enthusiasts like Malabari (1853-1912) had perhaps overstated their case. Nevertheless, the residue of unredressed wrong which called for remedy was sufficiently great to justify State action. 'Wherever there is undeserved misery endured in a large number of cases, there is a ground for State interference, always supposing that the interference will lead to the redress of the wrong, better than any individual effort can accomplish.'[36]

Thirdly, it was argued, the State could not interfere when the victims of social evils and injustices (e.g. infant brides and widows) did not themselves complain. This argument did not hold, said Ranade, because, first, 'widows and children are not the proper persons who can seek their own relief under the wrong that is done to them, and to society.'[37] Further, the argument

that those who suffer do not complain cannot stand because the worst effect of injustice is that it depresses the down-trodden victims to such an extent that they lick the hand of the oppressor. 'The slaves fought on the side of the Southern planters against their Northern liberators.'[38] Moreover, if the State contemplated forcible action in spite of the wishes of the victims, the argument might be urged with some effect. 'But nobody in his senses, can, or does, contemplate any such method of procedure.'[39]

Ranade agreed that Tilak's argument, that the assistance of a foreign government should not be sought to solve social problems, 'has a meaning and significance when foreign interests over-ride native interests, but when the foreigners have no interest to serve, and the initiative is to be all our own, the recognition of State help is not open to the stock objection urged by those who think that we forfeit our independence by seeking such regulation on lines approved by us'.[40] If the foreign rulers consulted their selfish interests only, they would rather let the natives remain as they were, disorganized and demoralized, stunted and deformed 'with the curse and folly and wickedness paralyzing all the healthy activities and vital energies of our social body'.[41] It seemed to Ranade that, from the theoretical point of view, the objection is valid only when the initiative for social reform is not taken by the dependent people themselves. When the initiative comes from them and all that is sought at the hands of the foreigners is to give to the enlightened view of the community the force and the sanction of law, no valid objection can be taken. Moreover, if the objection is accepted that the co-operation of a foreign government should not be engaged to change social customs, would it not follow that, so long as alien rule lasted, social customs harmful to certain sections of society would continue? The proper way of looking at the problem of social legislation is that such legislation would not constitute an imposition by alien rulers on Hindu society but in fact would reinstate the ancient social regulations which had disappeared because of 'the predominance of barbarous influences and by the intolerance of ruthless conquerors'.[42]

Finally, Ranade referred to Maine's well-known idea that all progress in social liberation tends to be a change from the law of status to the law of contract, from the restraints of family and caste customs to the self-imposed restraints of the free will

of the individual; 'the liberation from superstitious thraldom, which will result from the changes proposed, is not likely to be the least of its benefits'.[43] The consequences of applying the law of contract were not then evident.

Ranade's considered views, as summarized above, may be said to be the consensus among the Western-educated intelligentsia regarding the desirability of social legislation. It will, however, be useful also to refer to a middle view held by the veteran social reformer, Malabari. In an article entitled 'Social Reform—Ways and Means' he wrote : 'There are three methods of work open to earnest reformers; (1) do the needful yourselves; (2) ask the Executive to strengthen your hands and guide your steps in the beginning; (3) ask the Legislature to sweep away the otherwise impassable barriers, as it has so often done before. The first method is the best in theory; my heart inclines to it naturally. The third method is the easiest in practice; my judgement approves it strongly. But the second method appears to me to be the safest. It is the golden mean favoured both by my feeling and my judgement. It neither exposes us to vain struggles and the risk of a reaction, nor makes us over, body and soul, to an irrevocable law.'[44] The co-operation, which Malabari would like the Government to extend to social reform, was three-fold : (1) let Social Associations be given the power of enforcing a pledge, to give effect to the rules and penalties to which their members had given express and voluntary consent; (2) Heads of Public Departments may prefer the unmarried to the married candidate for government jobs; and (3) Local self-governing bodies elected by the people may be authorized to fix a minimum age for persons to be married.

These suggestions were made because gradually, by implementing them, the rigours of excommunication from caste and society might be eased and the desired reform might gain ground. It is not within the province of this study to go into the merits of these suggestions; the fact that they were made indicates that thinking men were aware of the political implications of State action—by legislation and by Executive action.

It is interesting to note an academic view on principles relating to State interference in social matters. A. S. Aiyar, a college lecturer, laid down the following principles in a lecture delivered in 1890 :

'The circumstances under which alone State interference in social matters is justifiable are :

I. (*a*) The social evil in question must be universal and so serious as to interfere with the life or liberty of the individual, or,

(*b*) Not being universal, it must be so serious as to affect the very life of individuals though these belong only to a section of the whole community, or,

(*c*) Not being so serious, it must be universal but sufficiently powerful to check the progress of the nation in other directions.

II. It must be totally unconnected with religion.

III. The interference must be solicited by a vast majority of the educated Indians who may fairly be taken as the mouthpiece of the nation.

IV. The intellectual perception of the reality and magnitude of the evil should be possible even for those that belong to the lower strata of society; in other words, the evil should be such as the reality and magnitude of which can be easily grasped even by the uneducated.

In the absence of any one of these conditions, interference is a sin.' [45]

In the first half of the present century, interest gradually shifted from social legislation to the methods of wresting political power and the political organization of society. K. M. Panikkar, in *Hindu Society at the Crossroads* (1955) shows that in independent India social legislation has become an accepted method of achieving social change: that independent India's Parliament elected on adult franchise will not tolerate the social evils of Hinduism was clear from the beginning. The Constitution itself renders impossible an attitude of neutrality as the Directive Principles incorporated in it go against some of the main features of Hindu social life. It is a legal and constitutional modification of Hindu society, far-reaching in its consequences and revolutionary in its comprehensiveness, that the Indian Parliament is now seeking to achieve by its social legislation. To illustrate : the control of religious endowments by the government, or by bodies elected by the legislature, cannot fail to have far-reaching social consequences. The free entry of all Hindus to public temples—a reform which was the result of sustained public agitation—undermines the religious sanctions of untouchability. Even

measures like the abolition of zamindari and the break-up of the large estates have profound social consequences, such as the creation of a large number of small landowners who are also free from the control of the zamindars.

The explanation as to why political thinking in India has shifted to a positive conception of the State remoulding society by legislation is simple : the achievement of freedom from foreign control, and the establishment of democracy and modern trends in politics throughout the world. As Panikkar rightly points out, the modern State is based on the conception of a purposive organization of society; it is not merely an administrative institution. 'Essentially, it represents the total life of the nation and exists in order to mould, direct and organize the complex of social forces according to the needs of the times..... Especially in India, as the last seven years have clearly demonstrated, the State will concern itself more and more with the organization of life in social and economic fields.' [46]

2

SELF-GOVERNMENT IS ESSENTIAL FOR A PEOPLE

1 WHY SELF-GOVERNMENT ?

From 1885, when the Indian National Congress held its first session, to 1947 when Britain transferred power to the Indian people, political thinking in the country, while it continued to show awareness of the need for social reform, focussed attention on the need for self-government and ways and means of achieving it. Not in vain had a generation of Indians read J. S. Mill's *Representative Government* and similar political classics; the application of ideas contained therein to their own political situation was quite natural. Thus R. C. Dutt, quoting Mill, argued in 1900 that it was an inherent condition of human affairs that no intention, however sincere, of protecting the interests of others could make it safe or salutary to tie up their own hands. 'What makes us proud to be British subjects,' Dadabhai Naoroji told the Indian National Congress in 1885, 'what attaches us to this foreign rule with deeper loyalty than even our own past native rule is the fact that Britain is the parent of free and representative government, and that we, as her subjects and children, are entitled to inherit the great blessing of freedom and representation'. [1] Taxation must go with representation. 'Thanks to our rulers themselves', said D. Naoroji, 'we have now sufficiently advanced to know the value of representation and to understand the necessity that representation must go with taxation, that the taxed must have a voice in the taxation that is imposed on them'. [2]

B. G. Tilak (1856-1920) justified the demand for self-government on the basis of birthright: 'Swarajya is my birthright; I will have it'. [3]

It was, however, left to Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) and Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925) to develop the case for government on logical grounds, starting with the premise that 'a nation must develop military and political greatness and

activity, intellectual and aesthetic greatness and activity, commercial greatness and activity, and moral sanity and vigour'. Sri Aurobindo (Aurobindo Ghosh as he then was) argued in the columns of the *Bande Mataram* in 1907 that the nation could not sacrifice any of these functions of the organism without making itself unfit for the struggle for life and finally succumbing and perishing under the pressure of more highly organized nations. 'Foreign rule is unnatural and fatal to a nation precisely because by its very nature it throws itself upon these activities and capacities and crushes them down in the interests of its own continued existence. Even when it does not crush them down violently, it obstructs their growth passively by its very presence. The subject nation becomes dependent, disorganized and loses its powers by atrophy. For this reason national independence is absolutely necessary to national growth. There can be no national development without national liberty.' [4]

Further, Aurobindo argued, a foreign government, by its nature, is bound to deny freedom to the individual to develop self-expression. This is likely to lead to the embarrassment of the intruding power, unless the members are so few that they can be bribed into acquiescence and support by the receipt of honours, employment or other personal advantages. For development creates ambition and nothing is more fatal to the continuance of foreign rule than the growth of ambitions in the the subject race which it cannot satisfy. But, clearly, individual liberty for self-expression is necessary for the development of democratic and national institutions, and to the extent that an alien government is bound to stifle individuals' freedom of speech and action, it is inimical to the development of these, and to their control by those indigenous to the country.

And one final reason. Self-government is necessary not only for individual development but is also essential for the completeness and full development of national strength. 'If certain classes are dominant and others depressed, the result is that the potential strength of the depressed classes is so much valuable force lost to the sum of national strength. The dominant classes may undoubtedly show a splendid development and may make the nation great and famous in history, but when all is said, the strength of the nation is then only the sum of the strength of a few privileged classes. The great weakness of India in the

past has been the political depression and nullity of the mass of the population.'[5] An alien government necessarily develops a privileged class attached to it, versed in the alien language and steeped in its interests; the development of the mass of the people is neglected. It is incredible that a foreign ruler would knowingly either foster or allow the growth of that universal political consciousness in the subject nation which the idea of Indian self-government implied.

Surendranath Banerjea justified the necessity for self-government on three main grounds. First, efficiency of the administration should improve with self-government; in his view, self-government was the only guarantee for good government in socially progressive communities. Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman's well-known aphorism—that good government was no substitute for self-government—was for Banerjea only a half-truth. He felt it contained an implied admission that self-government might not result in good government. 'Good government is no substitute for self-government', he agreed, 'but self-government is necessary for good government and we claim it for the purpose of good government'.[6]

The second ground on which Banerjea asks for self-government is more debatable: 'It is our mission to become once again the spiritual guides of mankind, but we cannot fulfil that mission unless and until we ourselves are emancipated, we ourselves are free'.[7] It is debatable as to whether there could be certainty that any country needs the spiritual guidance of another.

The last important argument put forward was that a self-governing and contented India would be the cement of the Empire: the man-power of India would be available for the defence of the Empire against powerful enemies. It is interesting to reflect that the idea of self-government was justified in 1916 on the ground that 'we want self-government in the interests of the Empire to which we are proud to belong'[8]; and that in 1939-42, no doubt on account of the vicissitudes of political development, leaders like Gandhi and Jawaharlal Nehru were chary of extending the co-operation of India for the defence of the Empire unless the substance of independence was conceded to India.

Before concluding this section, a brief reference must be made to a minority view, expressed for instance by Syed Ahmed,

that self-government, in the sense of government of India by Indians for Indians was extremely undesirable: 'It is necessary that for the peace of India and for the progress of everything in India, the English Government should remain for many years.....in fact for ever'.[9] This political idea is connected with the theory that Hindus and Muslims were two nations, and that the minority community had no confidence in the sense of justice of the majority community.....ideas that will be discussed in a later chapter, 'What is a Nation?'

2 *SHOULD SOCIAL REFORM PRECEDE POLITICAL REFORM?*

It has been noted earlier that from about 1885, while the importance of social reform for progress was recognized, political thinking focussed attention on the need for self-government and the methods of achieving it. Before we turn to the thinking on political methods, a brief reference may however be made to a preliminary issue raised by thinkers on society, viz., should social reform precede political reform?

Perhaps the most balanced view on the subject is that of K. T. Telang (1853-93), a judge of the Bombay High Court. In an Address to the Students' Literary and Scientific Society, Bombay, in 1886, he argued that political and social questions were so intertwined one with the other that a hard and fast line could not in practice be drawn between them, so that even if preference could be given to social reform over political, it would not be feasible to enforce it in practice. To illustrate: education is an agency of vital importance alike for political and social purposes; the question of infant marriage is primarily a social one. But the modes suggested for changing such a custom raise important political issues, touching the relation of social legislation and the extent of Government intervention in this field.

Assuming it was practicable to give preference to social over political matters, would the grounds on which such preference was urged, he asked, be tenable?

Two grounds had been put forward in favour of the preference for giving undivided attention to social reform over political reform:

(i) slavery in the home* was incompatible with a belief in the freedom of the individual to think, express himself and act in his own way unfettered by tradition and custom; and

(ii) social customs which were unjust to certain groups in society could impede the development of social institutions for political expression.

In principle, it was quite true, said Telang, that slavery in the home was incompatible with liberty (i.e. the freedom of the individual to think, express himself and act unfettered by tradition and custom ; but for the application of the principle, 'you must have a conscious tyranny on the one side and a slavery that is felt to be slavery on the other. Without this consciousness on both sides, I hold that the principle would be incorrect.' [10] Taking the Indian scene, he asked, 'Have we in truth got to deal with a case of conscious tyranny and felt slavery? I say, certainly not. I say, that so far as we have tyranny and slavery in the case, we have only a case of the tyranny of the past, the present being bound in slavery to it. It is not, as it is often represented, a case of male tyrants and female slaves to any notable extent.' [11] Thus as regards such questions as infant marriage and enforced widowhood, the women who were supposed to be slaves to men were really in many respects their masters. 'You talk of the duty which lies upon us of breaking the shackles off their feet, but they will have none of this breaking off of the shackles. To a great extent they do not feel the shackles and they decline to let us break them. They protest against that interference with, and desecration of, their ancient and venerable traditions which, from their point of view, is involved in this course of enfranchisement. Therefore, I hold that the phrase "household slavery", as used in this controversy is an entire misnomer.' [12]

That a nation with unreasonable social customs could not be well organized for political expression was a proposition with which Telang disagreed, for to him historical evidence did not support it. Citing the England of his own day (i.e. the latter half of the nineteenth century), he felt that while there

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* Such slavery was induced by customs such as child marriage, the social refusal to permit young widows to remarry, and total obedience to the husband.

were 'social evils, huge and serious social evils awaiting remedy', notable political progress by way, for instance, of widened suffrage granted by the Reform Acts of 1832 and 1861 was being achieved; social reform did not receive equal attention. Telang was justified in his view that the assertion that political progress towards democracy could not be achieved while unreasonable social customs existed in society could not be supported with historical evidence.

Telang's own contribution to the thinking on the subject was a principle of expediency which he evolved: 'reform ought to go.....along the line of least resistance. Secure first the reform which you can secure with the least difficulty, and then turn your energies in the direction of those reforms where more difficulty has to be encountered.' [13] Applying the Spencerian idea[14]* that the sentiment which induces resistance to the despotism of rulers, civil or spiritual, likewise induces resistance to the pressure of world opinion, he thought that the strength of the movement for self-government would show itself in pressing for changes in certain social customs on specific issues; and the vigour, which the spirit of reform would derive from success, would enable those working for self-government to achieve success in every field more promptly than by working in any other way.

If the line-of-least-resistance principle were accepted, then it was simply a question of comparing the opposing forces in the field of social reform and in the field of political reform and applying the principle to the circumstances in India:

> 'What are the forces opposed to us, if I may use that compendious expression? On the one side, we have a government by a progressive nation, which is the benign mother of free nations—a nation which, by its constituted authorities, has solemnly and repeatedly declared, and in some measure practically shown the sincerity of its declarations, that it is ready to admit us to full political rights, when we show that we deserve them and shall use them well. On the other side, we have an ancient nation, subject to strong prejudices; not in anything like full sympathy with the new conditions now existing in the country; attached, perhaps "not wisely but too well", to its own religious notions with

* Herbert Spencer's essay 'Manners and Fashion' is cited in the reference above.

which the proposed social reforms are closely, intimately, and at numberless points intertwined; loving all its own genuine hoary traditions and some of its very modern ones also which it supposes to be hoary—yet often failing to understand the true meaning and significance of both classes of tradition. As between these two groups of what I have called, only for convenience of phrase, opposing forces, can there be any reasonable doubts how the line of least resistance runs? If we compare the Government and the Hindu population to two forts facing the army of reform, can there be any doubt that the wisest course for that army is to turn its energies first towards the fort represented by the Government, where we have numerous and powerful friends among the garrison, and which is held against us only in order to test whether we shall be able to properly use any larger powers that may be conceded to us there? As to the other fort, the case is as far as possible from being one of *veni vidi vici*. The soldiers of the old garrison are not in the least ready to "give up", and in some respects we have yet got even to forge, and to learn to wield, the weapons by which we have to fight them.' [15]

From this analysis it followed that, in the circumstances then prevailing, more energy should be devoted to political than to social reform. This conclusion was buttressed further by the circumstance that in political matters unity between Hindus, Muslims and Parsis and among the people of Eastern, Southern, Western and Northern India was possible, whereas in the field of social reform, such unity was inconceivable, as the social evils differed from community to community and from region to region, and therefore, too, the remedies suggested. He asked whether it would not be wise to attempt to make changes first in the political field in which co-operation was possible, and to use the fraternal feeling so generated to tackle social evils?

The conclusion which emerged from this discussion may be summarized in Telang's own words: 'it is not possible to sever political from social reform altogether.....the two must go hand in hand.....we must and ought to devote the greater portion of our energy to political reform, but so as still to keep alive a warm sympathy for social reform.' [16]

Twenty-two years after the delivery of the Address by Telang, Sri Aurobindo went beyond Telang's analysis and argued that, in a country subject to alien rule, no effective reform in social

affairs, education, economic development, etc. would be possible until there was self-rule and the people had their own government. The first want of a subject people, according to him, was access to political power, without which it could neither produce creative minds nor rid society of untenable customs (such as slavery, early marriage or untouchability). In an article entitled 'The One Thing Needful' in *Bande Mataram* (1908), Telang developed his argument thus : Society lives by the proper harmony of its parts and bases that harmony on the centre of power in which the whole community is summed up, the State. If the State is diseased, the community cannot be healthy. If the State is foreign and inorganic, the community cannot live an organic life. If the State be hostile, the community is doomed. No great work can be done by a community which is diseased at or deprived of its centre. 'The hope of social reform divorced from political reform is an illogical hope which ignores the nature of social life and the conditions of its well-being. All expectation of moral regeneration, which leaves freedom out of the count, is a dream. First freedom, then regeneration.' [17]

Sri Aurobindo advanced two additional arguments why political reform should take precedence over social: negatively, no attempt to effect social reform for its own sake has any chance of success, because it will at once reawaken the old bitter struggle between the past and the present which baffled the efforts of the reformers; and positively, the political resurgence of the nation involves and necessitates a regeneration of the society by the great change of spirit and environment which it will bring about.

B. R. Ambedkar (1893-1956), well-known as leader of the socially depressed classes and Law Minister in the first cabinet in independent India (and who piloted the Indian Constitution Bill through the Constituent Assembly), took a diametrically opposite view. In the course of an Address on 18 January 1943 (before he became Law Minister), Ambedkar characterized the conflict between the 'Social Reformers' and the 'Politicals' as one between two opposing points of view, and it centred round the question, 'Which is more important for the survival of a nation, political freedom or strong moral fibre?' He himself supported Ranade's view that moral stamina was more important

than political freedom. Without the will, the energy and the courage to try to modify or change those social customs that hinder the implementation of new policies, there could be no attainment of national political freedom based upon the ideal of social equality. Those who advocated political reform before social freedom wanted to establish a democratic form of government; was a democratic form of government possible without a democratic form of society? 'It may not be necessary for a democratic society to be marked by unity, by community of purpose, by loyalty to public ends and by mutuality of sympathy. But it does unmistakably involve two things. The first is an attitude of mind, an attitude of respect and equality towards one's fellows. The second is a social organization free from rigid social barriers. Democracy is incompatible and inconsistent with isolation and exclusiveness, resulting in the distinction between the privileged and the unprivileged.' [18] Legislation for social reform should precede political reform because it would help to establish rights in Hindu society which men would learn to respect ; then—and then alone—could political progress and democracy be stable and valuable.

That Ambedkar was substantially right no impartial observer of Indian democracy since 1950 can deny; what he underemphasized was that democracy could, by legislation, i.e. by giving a legal recognition to justifiable claims, also give a lead to public opinion and educate the majority in the social content of those rights. That Indian democracy has been gradually performing this function, the impartial observer cannot deny.

3

POLITICAL METHODS

Self-government was believed by the thinkers considered here to be essential for the people of India; how, and by what methods, could self-government be achieved? Political thinking in the first half of the present century was much concerned with this problem. The implications and the pros and cons of constitutional agitation and voluntary efforts, terrorism and satyagraha were analysed by several thinkers; in particular, M. K. Gandhi (1869-1948), as is widely known, wrote extensively about satyagraha. We shall analyse the ideas behind these methods, and discuss whether they have something to contribute to political thought.

1 CONSTITUTIONAL AGITATION AND VOLUNTARY EFFORTS

We may begin with the analysis of constitutional methods by G. K. Gokhale. In a speech at Allahabad on 4 February, 1907, Gokhale defined constitutional agitation as agitation by methods which people were entitled to adopt to bring about the changes they desired through the action of constituted authorities. Thus defined, constitutional agitation to gain political objectives, firstly excluded the use of force; rebellion, aiding or abetting a foreign invasion and resort to crime were clearly unconstitutional. Barring these, everything else was strictly constitutional; petitions, appeals to justice, resolutions passed by elected legislatures (when later constituted) and even non-payment of taxes would be constitutional, though some of these steps might not be wise or expedient. Secondly, as redress must be obtained through the constituted authorities, constant pressure had to be brought to bear on them, in spite of disappointments; the pressure exerted undoubtedly depended upon the strength and determination of public opinion behind it. It followed that the necessity of building up that strength and hardening that determination was obviously paramount. Indeed, Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946), the distinguished liberal leader, considered

the mobilization of public opinion the basis of constitutional agitation. 'In my limited experience', he said, 'there has been one clear case in which a leading official said, "I agree to your suggestion, but before I can adopt it there must be such an expression of public opinion as to make it appear inevitable." '[1]

Liberal thought emphasized the importance of constitutional agitation on two grounds. First, while there can be no compromise on principle, once the principle is agreed upon, realization of it by gradual stages was desirable 'when you know that your sanctions are inadequate to compel your opponent to concede more'.[2] Briefly, as Ranade and Ambedkar thought, political negotiations must be governed by what is possible.

C. Y. Chintamani (1880-1941) emphasized the second ground, viz., 'the preparation that must precede the employment of heroic political methods'. In his book, *Indian Politics since the Mutiny* (1937), he suggested that social limitations such as disunity among the people, sectionalism and casteism must be removed before direct political methods could be effective. 'When they see the condition of the country—the hopeless disunity among the people, the relations of the several communities, the minorities' unwillingness to accept the decisions of the majority, the application by contending parties to sectional and sectarian strife of energy which should have been concentrated on national work for the achievement of Swaraj, our utter incapacity (due to the fault of the British) to assume responsibility for the defence of the country, the continued existence of social customs and institutions which are a negation at once of social efficiency and national unity—Liberals are overwhelmed by the inevitable thought of the immense preparation that must precede the employment of heroic political methods which are certain to bring forth severe retaliation in answer.' [3]

Tilak and Nehru had a different conception of the nature and utility of constitutional methods. In an Article in *Kesari* dated 12 February 1907 Tilak vigorously criticized Gokhale and suggested that Indian leaders had made the grievous mistake of misunderstanding the origin and application of the word 'constitutional'. They had blindly followed the phraseology appropriate and applicable to English politics, but, in his view, totally inapplicable to Indian conditions:

'In England, an unpopular Act of the Government in

power could be repealed by the people's vote. The people have democratic means of changing the Government; the Government is answerable to the country and if it fails to convince the electors it stands condemned and is thrown out. Is there anything of the kind in India? Can Mr. Gokhale or his Moderate Party show us the Constitution of India which could confer this right on the people?

'The Government of India is the creation of the British Parliament and is theoretically responsible to that Parliament and not to the people of India. The naked truth of the Indian situation is that the right to punish anyone who goes against the Government of India rests with the Government, and the rules and regulations about it are to be found in the Indian Penal Code. In all seriousness one can suggest that what Mr. Gokhale calls India's Constitution is really the Indian Penal Code. If he had his Moderate friends suggest that our agitation should be within the four corners of that Code we can appreciate the argument—then it will mean that it should be legal and legitimate—that is perfectly understandable.' [4]

It would, however, be futile and misleading, according to Tilak, to call it constitutional.

Tilak's own view was that since the Indian Government was created by Statutes of the Parliament of Great Britain and was not responsible to the people of India, the idea of bringing about constitutional changes through the action of the constituted authorities was unthinkable. Further, since Government officials had the sole authority to make and unmake laws, they could, if they so desired, put an end to all forms of agitation by penalizing all political activity in the country. In fighting an autocracy, Tilak argued, not law but justice, morality, historical tradition and progress should be the guiding principles of agitation. Constitutional and law-abiding methods against an alien bureaucracy which possessed almost absolute and autocratic power could only lead to political suicide.

In 1936 Nehru, in a letter to Lord Lothian, took an identical view: 'I can understand constitutional activities where there is a democratic constitution, but where there is no such thing, constitutional methods have no meaning'. [5] The word 'constitutional' then simply means 'legal', and 'legal' simply means that which is in accordance with the wishes of an autocratic executive that can make laws and issue decrees and ordinances regardless of public opinion.

It would be inaccurate to say, as Tilak does, that Gokhale did not understand the distinction between 'constitutional' and 'legal' methods. It would be more correct to say that these are two different approaches to the question of wresting political reforms from an alien ruler, the moderate and the extremist; and it cannot be said that, in theory, the moderate view is meaningless in all circumstances. When a subject people are united, and can create a sufficiently strong public opinion, indeed such unity and public opinion as is required for the success of, say, passive resistance, and when the rulers are inclined to view the granting of reforms, though only by instalments, with sympathy, there is no necessary reason why the moderate method —call it what you will, legal or constitutional—cannot succeed. It depends on circumstances. However, the criticisms of Tilak and Nehru remind us that it is more difficult to achieve that unity of the people, based upon strong public opinion, which is necessary for successful constitutional agitation than that based on 'heroic political methods' [6], in which emotion and hero-worship necessarily play a more important part than reason.

VOLUNTARY EFFORTS

By constitutional agitation a dependent people attempt to persuade the ruling power to grant political reforms; by voluntary efforts, they attempt to make themselves socially efficient and economically self-reliant and to forge an effective public opinion as a strong support to constitutional agitation.

Addressing the Second United Provinces Conference held at Lucknow in 1908, M. M. Malaviya told the delegates that there was a great deal which they could do, without the help of the Government and by their own efforts. 'I earnestly appeal to you', he said, 'to address yourself to this kind of work in a larger degree than you have done in the past'. [7] Among the fields of work for voluntary effort listed by Malaviya in his Address were the causes of defending poor people in cases which were sometimes brought falsely against them, disseminating correct ideas among the people on sanitation, starting good private schools for the education of children, promoting industrial enterprises, disseminating useful information on thes cientific improvement of agriculture, promoting a knowledge of the

principles of co-operative credit and co-operative stores, constituting arbitration tribunals, creating an effective public opinion on political issues and promoting *swadeshi*.

Sri Aurobindo also stressed the value of self-help. In 'An Open Letter to My Countrymen' issued in July 1909, he said: 'To unite and organize ourselves in order to show our efficiency by the way in which we can develop our industries, settle our industrial disputes, keep order and peace on public occasions, attend to questions of sanitation, help the sick and suffering, relieve the famine-stricken, work out our intellectual, technical and physical education, evolve a government of our own for our own internal affairs so far as that could be done without disobeying the law or questioning the legal authority of the bureaucratic administration'[8] would create courage and confidence among the people.

On *swadeshi*, the last of the fields noted by Malaviya in which voluntary efforts should be quickened, the ideas of Gandhi and S. C. Bose (1897-1945) merit attention. In an Address delivered to the Missionary Conference held at Madras on 14 February 1916, Gandhi defined *swadeshi* as 'that spirit in us which restricts us to the use and service of our immediate surroundings to the exclusion of the more remote'[9] and applied the principle to three fields of activity: religion, politics and economics. In religion, it would mean that Hindus, and followers of the other great faiths of the world, should refuse to change their religion, not because there were no defects in them but because such defects as there were could be rectified. Gandhi, with great daring, told the missionaries that they would best serve the spirit of Christianity by 'dropping the goal of proselytizing while continuing their philanthropic work'.[10] In political matters, the *swadeshi* spirit should manifest itself in the observance and revitalization of the true spirit of indigenous institutions like the caste and the panchayat. In economic and industrial life, the *swadeshi* ideal should spur India 'to produce everything for her requirements within her borders'. 'If we follow the swadeshi doctrine', he added, 'it would be your duty and mine to find out neighbours who can supply our wants and to teach them to supply them where they do not know how to proceed, assuming that there are neighbours who are in want of healthy occupation. Then every village

of India will almost be a self-supporting and self-contained unit, exchanging only such necessary commodities with other villages where they are not locally producible.'[11] This idea Nehru later refuted by implication when he gave impetus and priority to large-scale urban industrialization rather than to investment in rural industries which would strengthen the self-sufficiency of the villages and raise the standards of living of the average villager.

It is an interesting reflection that Malaviya, Gandhi and S. C. Bose, who also wrote on the subject in his *Swadeshi and Boycott* (1931), stressed what they called the religious aspect of the *swadeshi* movement. Thus, Gandhi : 'I conceive it as a religious principle to be followed by all'.[12] Malaviya : 'I look upon it as a part of a religious duty which we owe to our fellowmen. When you find such terrible suffering around you, when you find the drain so great and the income of the people so small, their resources so poor, I say, it is a religious duty cast upon every man of healthy feelings to promote to the utmost extent, the production of Indian manufactures by giving them preference, wherever he can find them, over foreign commodities even at some sacrifice.'[13] And S. C. Bose:

> 'The present movement is not entirely political; it has a higher and an ethical aspect..... There are many Indians, who feel that they cannot make the supreme sacrifice for their country. There are some again, who feel that resistance even against "lawless laws" is unconstitutional and is subversive of orderly government. There are others again who feel that antipathy against the imports from a particular country engenders hatred which must be eschewed as evil itself. But they all agree in the belief that they should make some common sacrifice for the cause of their country and that could best be done by religiously encouraging swadeshi. When one buys an indigenous product, probably of worse quality or at a higher price than the imported product, he does this for the good of the nation as a whole.'[14]

Finally it is also noteworthy that Bose referred to a view among many Indian nationalists that *swadeshi* was preferable to protection for the efficient development of indigenous industry: protection could not give the same impetus to efficiency and economy as *swadeshi* could through encouraging competition; besides, Indian consumers would be able to know and feel, through *swadeshi*, what sacrifice they were making in the interests of the nation.

2 *VIOLENT AND TERRORIST METHODS*

The documents available on terrorism as a method of achieving political ends are very few because of the nature of the movement. The object of the terrorist revolutionary movement (which existed primarily in Bengal and in the Punjab in the first quarter of the present century) was to overthrow the British Government by force. Secrecy was of its essence, and the revolutionaries were interested in action, not in theory. A summary of one pamphlet entitled *Mukti Kon Pathe* ('What is the path of salvation?') is, however, available in the *Rowlatt Committee Report*, 1918. The theory behind terrorism developed in it may be summarized thus:

Not much muscle is required to shoot Europeans; arms could be procured by grim determination, by preparing them silently in some secret place, by sending Indians to foreign countries to learn the art of making weapons and by getting aid in the shape of arms from foreign ruling powers. The expenses could be met by subscriptions; if subscriptions do not fetch the necessary amount, the money must be extracted from society by force. 'If the revolution is being brought about for the welfare of society, then it is perfectly just to collect money from society for that purpose. It is admitted that theft and dacoity are crimes because they violate the principles of a good society. But the political dacoit is aiming at the good of society; "so no sin but rather virtue attaches to the destruction of this small good for the sake of some higher good. Therefore, if revolutionaries extort money from the miserly or luxurious members of society by the application of force, their conduct is perfectly just."'[15] The assistance of Indian soldiers must be obtained; they can be persuaded to swell the ranks of the revolutionaries with arms and weapons given them by the ruling power.

These ideas of the Revolutionary Party were discussed by Lala Lajpat Rai (1865-1928) in regard to the cause of terrorism and remedies for it. It is the utter economic helplessness of the younger generation, aided by a sense of extreme humiliation and degradation, which, according to Lajpat Rai, explains the resort to terrorism. The remedy lay in three directions.

First, 'Make education practical, foster industries, open all Government careers to the sons of the soil, reduce the cost on the military and civil services, let the people determine the fiscal policy of the country and the revolutionary movement will subside.' [16] Second, the lessons of history make it quite clear that the most effective way to prevent its falling into channels of violence is to have as little recourse to coercion as may be consistent with the preservation of general order and peace. Third, a revolutionary prospers on exclusiveness, secrecy being his great ally. The younger generation and leaders of thought and of public life do not mix together, lest such mixing should draw the attention of the secret police. The remedy against the spread of the revolutionary sentiment, wrote Lajpat Rai, 'lies in encouraging an open and frank discussion of politics on the part of the younger generation with such indulgences as are due to their youth and immaturity of judgement; a systematic teaching of political history in schools and colleges; a free and open intercourse with their teachers on the clearest understanding that nothing said in discussion or in confidence will be used either privately or publicly against them, and an equally free and intimate intercourse with the leaders of thought and of public life in the country. These latter must be freed from the attentions of the Secret Service if it is intended that they should effectually co-operate in counteracting revolutionary propaganda.' [17]

That terrorism is an outworn and profitless method for gaining political objectives and that it usually represents the infancy of a revolutionary urge in a country was the view taken in 1934-5 by Nehru in his *Toward Freedom*. 'That stage passes', he wrote, 'and with it passes terrorism as an important phenomenon'.[18] The reason for his view can be understood when it is remembered that Nehru was speaking after some fifteen years of stress on non-violence in India by Gandhi.

Terrorism as a political method had ceased to have any significance by 1951 when J. B. Kripalani could write in his *Gandhi : The Statesman* that it was then fully recognized that revolutionary situations could not be tackled by individual acts of terrorism. 'Such activity', he wrote, 'leads to terrorist repression on the part of the authorities resulting in long periods

of political depression. Besides, it sacrifices human material, useful for any future activity in the right direction. Even when terrorist activity succeeds, it is now widely recognized that it is more likely to lead to dictatorship or counter-revolution than to revolution. It does not solve the problem.' [19]

4

POLITICAL METHODS (Continued)

1 GANDHI ON SATYAGRAHA

Introductory

The political methods outlined in the last chapter either appeal to reason (constitutional methods) or imply resort to force (terrorism); satyagraha as developed by Gandhi emphasizes self-suffering and primarily appeals to the heart. 'The conviction has been growing upon me', wrote Gandhi in *Young India* in 1931, 'that things of fundamental importance to the people are not secured by reason alone but have to be purchased with their suffering.... The appeal of reason is more to the head but the penetration of the heart comes from suffering. It opens up the inner understanding in man.' Five terms are frequently used by Gandhi to explain his ideas: satyagraha, non-violence, non-co-operation, passive resistance and civil disobedience, of which the last two can simply be termed civil resistance. These are elaborated in several of his writings including his *Experiments with Truth* and *Satyagraha in South Africa*; perhaps the most significant of his writings are his articles in *Young India* and *Harijan*, often in answer to requests from correspondents spread all over the world for clarification of basic ideas. According to Gandhi himself, these five are so interwoven that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. Satyagraha is a 'relentless search for truth and a determination to reach truth'*; non-violence (*ahimsa*) 'is the means, Truth is the end'.[2] Non-co-operation is the act of 'withdrawing of Co-operation from the state that in the Non-Co-operator's view has become corrupt'.[3] Every nation and every individual have 'the right, and it is their duty, to rise against an intolerable wrong' [4], i.e., civil resistance (passive resistance and civil disobedience). Non-Co-operation like civil resistance 'is a branch of satyagraha' [5]; all the four—satyagraha, non-violence, non-co-operation and civil resistance—'are nothing but new names for the law of suffering'. [6]

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* *Satya* (truth) and *Agraha* (determination to reach)

Satyagraha

Gandhi's basic ideas on satyagraha were evolved partly from his study of the teachings of Jesus, of Thoreau (1817-62) and of Tolstoy (1828-1910), as well as from his study of Hindu tradition; and partly from his leadership of (*a*) the Indian community in South Africa in their struggle against racial discrimination practised by the white minority there, and (*b*) the non-co-operation and civil disobedience movements against the British Government in India (1920-1942).

Satyagraha stresses four basic ideas: (*a*) it is essentially the use of soul-force. (*b*) Through the suffering of the satyagrahi, it appeals to the heart and thus seeks to convert the wrong-doer; as examples of suffering, we have the instance of the satyagrahi who wanted the temple at Vaikom in Travancore (till then reserved for caste Hindus) to be thrown open to all Hindus. He was stopped when proceeding to the temple and felt compelled to sit in the sun all day. A further example is the satyagrahi who, wanting salt to be free of tax, decided to disobey the salt law and to be sent to prison foregoing personal freedom. (*c*) It excludes the use of physical force, because 'man is not capable of knowing the absolute truth and, therefore, not competent to punish' [7], and because every human being partakes of the divine essence. Since every human being, however degraded, has in him the divine spark, he has limitless potentiality for growth and is capable of responding to kind and generous treatment. (*d*) Means and ends are convertible terms: 'as the means, so the end'.[8] A good result can be produced only by good means. Truth can be realized only through *ahimsa*.

From these four basic ideas, certain consequences follow. It is never the intention of a satyagrahi to embarrass the wrong-doer and the appeal is never to his fear. A satyagrahi enjoys a degree of freedom not possible for others, for he is prepared to suffer to the limit, i.e., to lay down his life for a cause he believes to be right. The idea underlying satyagraha being to convert the wrong-doer and to awaken the sense of justice in him, it has to be shown to him (the wrong-doer) that without the co-operation, direct or indirect, of the wronged, the wrong-doer cannot do the wrong intended by him. Military force is inconsistent with soul-force. Exploitation of the weak and immoral gains are utterly inconsistent with soul-force. A satyagrahi abjures

the right of self-defence. 'The reformers must be ready', writes Gandhi, 'to face bullets without flinching but also without lifting their little finger in so-called self-defence'.[9] As the satyagrahi bids good-bye to fear, he is never afraid of trusting the opponent. Even if the opponent plays him false twenty times, the satyagrahi is ready to trust him the twenty-first time, for an implicit trust in human nature is the very essence of his creed. A satyagrahi implicitly obeys the voice of conscience. Since satyagraha is one of the most powerful methods of direct action, a satyagrahi exhausts all other means before he resorts to satyagraha. He will, therefore, constantly and continually approach the constituted authority, he will appeal to public opinion. state his case clearly and calmly before every one who wants to listen to him; and only after he has exhausted all these avenues will he resort to satyagraha. A satyagrahi must make reparation if an error is discovered. A satyagrahi never misses a chance of compromise on honourable terms, it being always assumed that in the event of failure, he is ever ready to renew the non-violent struggle and to suffer. The satyagrahi must have a detached state of mind; and we must be able 'to step into the shoes of our adversaries and understand their standpoint'.[10] Satyagraha can never be resorted to for personal gain, but only for the good of others. A satyagrahi, whether free or incarcerated, is ever victorious, for he is doing what he considers right; he is vanquished only when he forsakes truth and non-violence. It follows too that there is no place in satyagraha for fraud or falsehood. Satyagraha is gentle; it never wounds. From the nature of it, since it has to convert the wrongdoer, satyagraha works silently and apparently slowly; in reality, according to Gandhi, because it is sure, 'there is no force in the world that is so direct or so swift in working'.[11]

In a famous passage in his *Satyagraha in South Africa* Gandhi develops the point that satyagraha is progressive in character. 'My experience has taught me', he writes, 'that a law of progression applies to every righteous struggle. But in the case of satyagraha, the law amounts to an axiom. As the (river) Ganga advances, other streams flow into it, and hence at the mouth it grows so wide that neither bank is to be seen and a person sailing upon the river cannot make out where the river ends and the sea begins. So also as a satyagraha struggle pro-

gresses onward, many another element helps to swell its current, and there is a constant growth in the results to which it leads. This is really inevitable and is bound up with the first principles of satyagraha. For in satyagraha the minimum is also the maximum, and as it is the irreducible minimum, there is no question of retreat and the only movement possible is an advance.' [12]

It will be clear from the above that satyagraha and the use of brute force are at opposite poles. In satyagraha, there is unflinching adherence to truth; the satyagrahi conquers the enemy by the force of soul which is love. Let there be no doubt about its efficacy, says Gandhi; even a heart of flint will melt in front of a fire kindled by the power of the soul. 'This is no exaggeration. It is as true as an algebraical equation.' [13] But the wielder of brute force does not scruple about the means to be used, if he can somehow achieve his purpose, unlike the satyagrahi for whom there cannot be a particle of untruth. Satyagraha is kindness, love, truth, whereas brute force kindles hatred. 'The believer in brute force becomes impatient and desires the death of the so-called enemy. There can be but one result of such activity: hatred increases. The defeated party vows vengeance and simply bides his time.' [14] Finally, the brute-force man, like the oilman's ox which turns the village mechanical extractor of coconut oil, moves in a circle. It is a motion, but it is not progress, whereas the votary of 'Truth' ever moves forward.

Satyagraha is superior to brute force, but only if the satyagrahi fulfils certain essential conditions: he must be prepared to accept any hardship, including imprisonment; he must be imbued with the spirit of service and of love, and must train himself for offering satyagraha by constructive work of some kind for the good of the community, such as working for harmony between communities, the removal of untouchability, and prohibition; anger, pride and passion are danger signals and should make the would-be satyagrahi pause; the satyagrahi must have strength to resist injustice, any weakness being fatal to the cause; patience and fearlessness are basic conditions. Satyagraha presupposes self-discipline, self-control and self-purification. Since the satyagrahi tries to overcome evil by good, anger by love, untruth by truth and violence by non-

violence, he must try by close and prayerful introspection and self-analysis to find out whether he himself is completely free from the taint of anger, ill-will and such other human infirmities, whether he is not himself capable of those very evils against which he is out to lead a crusade. The satyagrahi must distinguish between the evil and the evil-doer; he must not harbour ill-will against the latter. Finally a recognition of the existence of the soul and a living faith in God alone will enable the satyagrahi to conquer evil and hatred by goodness and love.

Non-violence

We have pointed out earlier that, to Gandhi, while truth is the end, non-violence (*ahimsa*) is the means. They are so intertwined that it is practically impossible to disentangle and separate them. 'They are like the two sides of a coin, or rather a smooth unstamped metallic disc. Who can say, which is the obverse, and which is the reverse.' [15]

The meaning and implications of non-violence may now be elaborated.

Violence (*himsa*) is action causing pain to or killing any life out of anger, or from a selfish purpose, or with the intention of injuring it. Refraining from such action physically or mentally is non-violence (*ahimsa*). The votary of non-violence may not, therefore, hurt the person of any wrong-doer or bear any ill-will to him and so cause him mental suffering. This statement, Gandhi hastens to add, does not cover 'suffering caused to the wrong-doer by natural acts of mine which do not proceed from ill-will'. It does not, for instance, 'prevent me from withdrawing from his presence a child whom he, we shall imagine, is about to strike. Indeed, the proper practice of *ahimsa* requires me to withdraw the intended victim from the wrong-doer, if I am in any way whatsoever the guardian of such a child.' [16] In its positive form, *ahimsa* means the largest love, the greatest charity. 'If I am a follower of *Ahimsa*, I *must love* my enemy. I must apply the same rules to the wrong-doer who is my enemy or a stranger to me, as I would to my wrong-doing father or son.' [17]

It follows from the meaning of non-violence explained above that the votary of non-violence must be utterly selfless, feeling completely detached from his body; only then can he make all

other beings feel safe from him. He must be completely fearless; a man cannot practise *ahimsa* and be a coward at the same time. Non-violence in its dynamic condition also means conscious suffering, for the non-violent resister has to suffer any injury—physical or mental—caused to him by the evil-doer, and without ill-will. It is clear also that non-violence as a potent force is not only physical, i.e., abstention from mere bodily violence; it is also mental, for, without the co-operation of the mind, you are likely to harbour hatred which is against the pure theory of non-violence. Indeed it is the conclusive test of non-violence that, in a non-violent conflict, there is no rancour left behind and in the end the enemies are converted into friends.

In explaining the meaning and implications of non-violence, Gandhi lays stress on non-violence of the strong, not of the weak. Non-violence presupposes the ability to use physical force to defend the right, but its votary, applying conscious restraint, decides to use soul-force against the wrong-doer. Where, however, 'there is only a choice between cowardice and violence, I would advise violence.....I would rather have India resort to arms in order to defend her honour than that she should in a cowardly manner become or remain witness to her own dishonour.'[18] Non-violence must be distinguished from bravery and cowardice. 'No matter how weak a person is in body, if it is a shame to flee, he will stand his ground and die at his post. This would be non-violence and bravery. No matter how weak he is, he will use what strength he has in inflicting injury on his opponent, and die in the attempt. This is bravery, not non-violence. If, when his duty is to face danger, he flees, it is cowardice.'[19]

How does non-violence work? Does it convert the wrong-doer, physical force being, by definition, eschewed? Let Gandhi answer: 'I contemplate a mental and therefore a moral opposition to immoralities. I seek entirely to blunt the edge of the tyrant's sword, not by putting up against it a sharper edged weapon, but by disappointing his expectation that I would be offering physical resistance. The resistance of the soul that I should offer instead would elude him. It would at first dazzle him and at last compel recognition from him, which recognition would not humiliate him but would uplift him.'[20] In so far as non-violence prevents the brutalization of human nature, it

is nobler than violence; it is based on a faith in the existence of God and the soul, that 'we are all sons of the same God and partake of the same essence'.[21]

Non-violence is considered by Gandhi as immeasurably superior to violence. Strength does not come from physical capacity. It comes from an indomitable will. Self-sacrifice of one innocent man is a million times more potent than the sacrifice of a million men who die in the act of killing others.

Does history show that mankind has progressed towards non-violence? It does, according to Gandhi. Our remote ancestors, he points out, were cannibals; they gave up cannibalism and took to hunting for a living; later still, they took to agriculture and settled into civilized life, founding villages, cities and nations. Prophets have also from time to time taught *ahimsa*, not *himsa*. Punishments too are less inhuman; capital punishment has even been abolished in some societies. But more effort is needed by man to overcome the brute in him and be a man.

Non-violence can be used not only by isolated individuals, but by the masses and by nations in their mutual relations. 'I have been taught from my childhood', writes Gandhi in the *Harijan* 'and I have tested the truth by experience that primary virtues of mankind are possible of cultivation by the meanest of the human species. It is this undoubted universal possibility that distinguishes the human from the rest of God's creation.'[22] It is urgent that nations should eschew violence. 'Brute force has been the ruling factor in the world for thousands of years, and mankind has been reaping its bitter harvest all along, as he who runs may read. There is little hope of anything good coming out of it in the future. If light can come out of darkness, then alone can love emerge from hatred.' [23] 'If the mad race for armaments continues, it is bound to result in a slaughter such as has never occurred in history. If there is a victor left, the very victory will be a living death for the nation that emerges victorious. There is no escape from the impending doom save through a bold and unconditional acceptance of the non-violent method with all its glorious implications'.[24]

Non-co-operation

The theory of non-co-operation, as a part of satyagraha, may be stated thus:

The sole justification for the existence of the State is the assumption that it promotes the well-being of the people. This alone constitutes its claim to the allegiance of its subjects. Therefore, when the State fails in its duty or begins to pass orders and frame laws which are contrary to the conscience and the best interests of the people, it loses its right to their allegiance, and it not only becomes necessary but a matter of religious duty for the people to withdraw their support from the State when the dictates of conscience require it. Violent resistance is one possible way for the people to express their resentment; but evil can never be overcome with evil; hence that is no remedy. Instead, let people purify themselves, let them cease directly or indirectly to participate in the evil of the State and it will reform itself.

What are the methods by which a State maintains its hold on the people? The courts are there to punish people who disobey the law; titles and honours induce people to support the State; State aided and controlled schools may be used to teach ideas conducive to the development of obedience to the State; the military arm protects the State and maintains its authority within the law when challenged and taxes give the State its resources. Let the people gradually withdraw co-operation from all these institutions: lawyers boycotting the courts, students leaving schools and colleges, people refusing to accept titles, to serve the army and the police and to pay taxes.

It need not be repeated that people should scrupulously shun all violence in word, deed or thought. The slightest attempt at violence would injure the cause as it would let loose the retaliatory machinery of the Government.

There are two additional elements in the theory, as developed by Gandhi, which merit our attention. Firstly, non-co-operation is not with a part of the system but with the whole of it. Refusal to join military service, for example, is non-co-operation; but is that enough? 'Those who are not on the register of military service', Gandhi told a meeting in Geneva in 1931, 'are equally participating in the crime if they support the State otherwise', for instance, by paying taxes. 'Refusal of military service is much more superficial than non-co-operation with the whole system which supports the State.'[25]

Secondly, non-co-operation has its roots in love, not in hatred.

Therefore, social boycott (including the stoppage of the supply of water and food) of those who refuse to fall in line with the programme of non-co-operation would be entirely wrong. The battle of non-co-operation is 'not one of compelling others to yield obedience by violence direct or indirect. We must try patiently to convert our opponents.....We may not replace the slavery of the Government by that of the non-co-operationists.'[26]

Finally, non-co-operation does not in any way mean anarchy or absence of order. For non-co-operation with the State means a closer co-operation among the people themselves, by the people establishing people's schools, people's courts, etc. It is thus a process of evolution, and there is no necessary reason why such voluntary efforts should not result not only in the maintenance of order, but also in the running of essential institutions to meet essential social needs.

Civil Resistance (Civil Disobedience, Passive Resistance)

Civil resistance differs from non-co-operation in that it involves disobedience to what is considered an unjust law (without the use of violence), as when Gandhi disobeyed the salt law in 1930. It also involves acceptance of the penalty for breach of the law, whereas non-co-operation as such need not involve disobedience to law. (You are not legally bound to send your children to school, when there is no law imposing compulsory education, or to take your case to the court, or to accept titles). However, some forms of non-co-operation, such as non-payment of taxes, involve civil resistance as well. It is a method of securing rights by personal suffering. How can one be sure, it may be asked, that the law is unjust? 'No man', says Gandhi, 'can claim that he is absolutely in the right or that a particular thing is wrong because he thinks so, but it is wrong for him so long as that is his deliberate judgement. It is, therefore, meet that he should not do that which he knows to be wrong, and suffer the consequence whatever it may be.'[27] This is the key to the understanding of civil resistance.

Gandhi justifies civil resistance on another ground. The Government which passes the laws does not say that we must in every case do the thing laid down in the law. 'They do not say, "you must do such and such a thing", but "If you do not

do it, we will punish you". We are sunk so low that we fancy that it is our duty and our religion to do what the law lays down. If man will only realise that it is unmanly to obey laws that are unjust, no man's tyranny will enslave him.' [28]

Civil disobedience must be distinguished from criminal disobedience. The criminal law-breaker breaks the law surreptitiously, often uses violence and tries to avoid the penalty. The civil resister, on the other hand, openly and civilly breaks the law, and then only if it is so unjust as to offend his moral sense and if all his efforts to get it modified fail; and, further, he quietly accepts the punishment. Indeed only those are fit to offer civil disobedience who are above committing criminal disobedience or doing violence. The capacity for civil disobedience is acquired only after one has disciplined oneself in complete and voluntary obedience of the laws of the land. 'It is only when a person has thus obeyed the laws of society scrupulously that he is in a position to judge as to which particular rules are good and just, and which unjust and iniquitous. Only then does the right accrue to him of the civil disobedience of certain laws in well-defined circumstances.' [29] It need not be added that a man cannot commit both civil and criminal disobedience at the same time, even as he cannot be both temperate and furious at the same time.

Complete civil disobedience is rebellion without the element of violence in it.

Passive Resistance

Before we pass on from the clarification of satyagraha and kindred terms, reference must be made to a distinction which Gandhi clearly made between passive resistance and satyagraha remembering the popular conception of the passive resistance offered by the suffragettes in England. Passive resistance is civil resistance and as such it is, as we have noted earlier, an offshoot of satyagraha, and, like satyagraha, is another name for the law of suffering. But there 'is a great and fundamental difference between the two', he wrote in his *Satyagraha in South Africa*. '...While there is no scope for love in passive resistance, on the other hand, not only has hatred no place in satyagraha but is a positive breach of its ruling principle. While in passive

resistance there is a scope for the use of arms when a suitable occasion arises, in satyagraha physical force is forbidden even in the most favourable circumstances. Passive resistance is often looked upon as a preparation for the use of force while satyagraha can never be utilized as such. Passive resistance may be offered side by side with the use of arms. Satyagraha and brute force, being each a negation of the other, can never go together. ...In passive resistance there is always present an idea of harassing the other party and there is a simultaneous readiness to undergo any hardships entailed upon us by such activity; while in satyagraha there is not the remotest idea of injuring the opponent. Satyagraha postulates the conquest of the adversary by suffering in one's own person.' [30]

Picketing, Fasting

Even in a brief survey like this, mention must be made of two techniques of satyagraha frequently discussed in the literature on the subject: picketing and fasting.

Picketing is an attempt at persuading those who do not join the civil resisters, who feel they are striking at an intolerable injustice, to do so. For instance, the South African Indian community decided in 1907 to resist the Transvaal Asiatic Registration Act of 1907 requiring members of the community to take registration certificates, by refusing to take such certificates; some members of the community, either out of ignorance or regard to their own interests, were applying for registration certificates. Volunteers met them and tried to persuade them not to apply for the certificates as it was not in the interests of the larger community.

Was such picketing legal? Gandhi held that picketing—moral persuasion—was legal, so long as no force or intimidation was used against those who did not fall in line.

'We...warn the Indian volunteers', wrote Gandhi, 'against any haste or any display of ill temper. Physical violence must be absolutely eschewed, and so must strong language. Those who are anxious to avoid the yoke of the Asiatic Act should be equally anxious not to put a more terrible yoke in the shape of ignorant brow-beating and intimidation. If Indians are satisfied that the Act imposes degradation on them and takes away their

manliness, all that they need do is to place that view before those who do not know it. Once they have done so, their duty is finished and they should leave it open to the would-be applicant for registration to make his choice.' [31]

To Gandhi fasting is 'abstinence from evil or injurious thought, activity or food'[32]; it is accompanied by prayer, fasting which is not an integral part of prayer being a mere torture of the flesh. The satyagrahi would sit and starve, if need be, to death, on the door-step of the Government or a recalcitrant section of the community whom he wished to persuade to adopt better ways. (Gandhi's Calcutta fast in September 1947 was an appeal to Hindus and Muslims to stop communal violence and live in peace; he hoped to succeed not by reasoning or persuasion but by arousing the much deeper-lying emotions of fear, of shame, of repentance, of sympathy, of humanity, and of other feelings below the threshold of conscious thought, which in their mass effect prove much more potent than reasoning or persuasion.

Fasting is an ideal weapon in the armoury of the satyagrahi according to Gandhi, for 'under proper circumstances' the self-suffering involved in fasting is an appeal to the better nature of the wrongdoer; it 'is the greatest force without causing or intending any physical or material injury to the wrong-doer'.[33] Fasting unto death is an extreme manifestation of the willingness of the satyagrahi to suffer with a view to appealing to the heart of the wrong-doer.

Does fasting involve coercion? The critic argued that though fasts undertaken solely for one's own purification and consolation are the exclusive concern of the individual, fasts undertaken directly or indirectly to bring about political or social changes have a coercive effect, even though coercion may not be intended; and such coercion may lead to insincere acceptance of a course of action on the part of many which they would not have agreed to, or done, if there had not been any pressure on their minds. Therefore such coercion does not lead to universally sincere conduct and lasting reform.

Gandhi's answer to this important question may be summarized thus:—

A properly conceived fast undertaken by a person with the requisite qualifications (i.e. capable of love and non-violence and having faith in God) and not undertaken for selfish objects,

should spring from love; it is coercion 'only if love of parents for their children, or of the latter for the former, or love of husband for wife and wife for husband, or, to take a sweeping illustration, love of Jesus for those who own Him as all, is coercion'.[34] Could the love of Jesus, which strengthens the spirits of millions of Christians and to which their powers of reason and emotion are subject, be called 'coercive'? It is possible that fasting does unfortunately coerce people into action which they would not have endorsed without the fast; it is also possible that such coercion can, and sometimes does, lead to insincere conduct. But, according to Gandhi, in any examination of moral conduct, the intention is the chief ingredient; if the intention behind the fast is not to exercise coercion or pressure, i.e. to produce acquiescence without conviction, then the fast cannot be considered coercive. 'One may not be deflected from the right course for fear of possible but unintended consequences. If one were to be so deterred, it could be shown that hardly any great action could be undertaken.' [35]

2 ARBITRATION: A PRE-SATYAGRAHA STEP

Before we pass on to other writers on satyagraha we may note that Gandhi, known primarily as the author of direct non-violent action also advocated arbitration as a civilized method of peaceful settlement of disputes. In the *Harijan* of 24 May 1942, he wrote, 'Any day I would advocate arbitration for the Indo-British problem. I suggested long ago that this question could be decided by arbitration.' [36] He advocated arbitration for solving communal differences: one possible way of settling a dispute. It might be that some would not like reference to the Courts since the system of law had been imposed on the people, and was not derived from their customary conceptions of what constitutes 'justice'. It must be common cause between the two communities that neither party shall take the law into its own hands, but that all points in dispute, wherever and whenever they arise, shall be decided by reference either to private arbitration or to the law courts if they so wish.' [37] And again, 'Differences we shall always have. But we must learn to settle them all, whether religious or other, by arbitration.' [38] In another context Gandhi, in response to a telegram from

London before the declaration of World War II in 1939, wished Herr Hitler 'would respond to the appeal of the President of the United States and allow his claim to be investigated by arbitrators in whose choice he will have as effective a voice as the disputants'.[39]

For Gandhi, resort to arbitration was one of the forms of the application of non-violence to which he was wedded. As R. J. Soman points out in the *Harijan*, non-violence finds expression in various forms. In politics, it is expressed in the emphasis on mutual consultations (i.e. negotiation) in search of common points and through them in hammering out a solution which would avoid conflict and would be acceptable to all the parties. In economics, the non-violent approach is distinguished by an endeavour to protect all legitimate interests. When negotiation fails, the issue is referred to arbitration. If arbitration is not agreed to, satyagraha is resorted to, which again is a militant expression of non-violence. Thus negotiation may be considered a pre-arbitration step, and arbitration a pre-satyagraha step, all three designed to achieve a non-violent (peaceful) solution of differences.

Perhaps there is one limitation to arbitration as a political method; it postulates the recognition of the equality of the parties to a dispute. Thus, according to Gandhi, while normally arbitration must precede satyagraha, where there is either no scope for, or no possibility of arbitration, satyagraha is indicated as the only proper course of action, the use of force being eschewed by definition.

3 NEHRU, BHAVE, PRASAD AND OTHER SUPPORTERS OF SATYAGRAHA

Among thinkers who, accepting the philosophy of satyagraha, made useful contributions to it, mention may be made of Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), C. R. Das (1870-1925), Mohamed Ali (1878-1931), J. B. Kripalani (b. 1888), J. Nehru (1889-1964), V. Bhave (b. 1895) and R. Prasad (1884-1963); we shall refer here to the contributions of the last three.

Speaking in 1923 at Benares, after serious defects had developed in the working of the non-co-operation programme adopted at Calcutta in 1920, Jawaharlal Nehru reiterated his

belief in non-co-operation, and added, 'I believe that the salvation of India, and indeed of the world, will come through non-violent non-co-operation'. But he thought that non-co-operation could be applied successfully only by the elect, not by the masses. He confessed to a feeling of humiliation that the movement 'nurtured on high ideals and voluntary suffering, was being converted into two party causes, each devoting its money and energy to raising delegates who would lift up their hands at the bidding of their leaders'.[40] If the Calcutta Special Session in 1920 had not accepted the non-co-operation programme, the movement, he thought, could have been restricted to the elect, who, strong in their faith and discipline, could have maintained its purity. 'The basis of non-co-operation is direct action', he said, 'and this involves continuous suffering. No one can expect large masses of people (to undergo such suffering). Only the elect can do that and the masses can sympathise with them occasionally for a short while.'[41] After the select few had shown the way, the appeal could be made to the masses at the right moment.

Vinoba Bhave realized that the solution of the basic conflict-causing problems of the world was a precondition to the people accepting non-violence as a way of life. Speaking on the message of Lord Buddha on His birth anniversary on 17 May 1954, he said that hatred was not likely to disappear as long as the factors which excited it were existent. 'The world is not hankering after hatred,' he said, 'it does not love hatred for the sake of hatred. But it is faced with certain problems which it seeks to solve. It is idle to expect the people to keep peace without first solving those problems. We must therefore strive to find out the way to produce the power of peace so as to solve those problems and finally to establish uninterrupted peace. The world will not develop trust in the power of non-violence until this is done.'[42]

Rajendra Prasad in his *At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi* (1961) brought out the connexion between satyagraha and non-violence, perhaps more clearly than Gandhi himself: satyagraha implies insistence on truth—truth that must be observed in thought, word and deed. A man may claim to observe truth not only when he does so himself, but also when he helps others to do so; in other words, when he does not become an impediment in

the path of those who want to observe it as well. 'But that can be only when he observes it and expects others to do do so, and never intends any kind of threat or force to others..... Anything which, we feel, would hurt us, is equally likely to hurt others as well; and we should not, therefore, do it. That is the fundamental reality of non-violence; and practice of truth becomes impossible without the observance of non-violence.'[43]

4 SRI AUROBINDO AND TILAK ON PASSIVE RESISTANCE AND NON-CO-OPERATION

The failure of constitutional agitation for the revoking of the partition of Bengal (1905) led to serious thinking on the possibilities of resorting to direct action (such as passive resistance) to achieve the purpose. Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) in his *Passive Resistance* (1907) outlines the objectives and methods of non-co-operation and civil resistance which he terms 'passive resistance'.

Starting with the thesis that organized national resistance to the alien government has three courses open to it, viz., passive resistance, aggressive resistance short of armed revolt and armed revolt, Sri Aurobindo argues that the choice by a subject nation of the means it will adopt for vindicating its liberty is best determined by the circumstances of its servitude; none of them could be condemned in all circumstances as criminal and unjustifiable. This statement itself reveals that non-violence is not the basis of Sri Aurobindo's theory of passive resistance. If passive resistance is in the circumstances of India more suitable, he argues, by all means let it be adopted. It has a certain advantage. Unlike armed revolt, in which a daring minority purchases with its blood the freedom of the millions, for passive resistance 'it is necessary that all should share in the struggle and in the privation'[44], and, in the course of such a struggle, the moral qualities of unity and courage, so necessary for the self-government to be attained after the struggle, will be developed. It can also demonstrate to the alien rulers their determination to be free of them.

The essential difference between passive (or defensive) and active (or aggressive) resistance is that while the method of the aggressive resister is to do something by which he can bring about

positive harm to the Government, the method of the passive resister is to abstain from doing something by which he would be helping the Government—such as purchasing foreign goods, sending children to schools controlled or aided by Government, making use of the courts and seeking the help, advice or protection of the Administration. Social boycott—or 'social excommunication' as Sri Aurobindo calls it—of those citizens who co-operate and therefore compromise themselves with the bureaucracy is also essential, i.e. of those who use foreign goods, who send children to schools, who use the courts and who co-operate with the Administration. 'In a rebellion', says Aurobindo, 'such treachery is of small importance, since in the end it is...the superior force that triumphs; but in a campaign of passive resistance the evil example, if unpunished, may be disastrous and eat fatally into the enthusiastic passion and serried unity indispensable to such a movement. ...Men in the mass are strong and capable of wonder-working enthusiasms and irresistible movements; but the individual average man is apt to be weak or selfish and, unless he sees that the mass are in deadly earnest and will not tolerate individual treachery, he will usually, after the first enthusiasm, indulge his weakness or selfishness to the detriment of the community.'[45]

The passive resistance method is specially suitable to countries where the government depends for the continuance of its administration mainly on the voluntary help and acquiescence of the subject people. 'The bureaucracy depends for the success of its administration on the help of the few and the acquiescence of the many. If the few refused to help, if Indians no longer consented to teach in Government schools or work in the Government offices or serve the alien as police, the administration could not continue for a day.' [46]

As passive resistance progresses, it may become the duty of a citizen to disobey unjust coercive laws and executive orders and quietly endure the penalty prescribed for their violation; the refusal to pay taxes is the strongest and final form of passive resistance. There is, however, a limit to passive resistance. 'So long as the action of the executive is peaceful and within the rules of the fight', writes Sri Aurobindo, 'the passive resister scrupulously maintains his attitude of passivity, but he is not bound to do so a moment beyond. To submit to illegal or

violent methods of coercion, to accept outrage and hooliganism as part of the legal procedure of the country is to be guilty of cowardice, and, by dwarfing national manhood, to sin against the divinity within ourselves and the divinity in our motherland. The moment coercion of this kind is attempted, passive resistance ceases and active resistance becomes a duty.'[47]

Enough has been said to show that while there is a similarity between the political method of satyagraha as advocated by Gandhi and of passive resistance as advocated by Sri Aurobindo, in so far as non-co-operation and civil resistance are common to both, the two are basically different: the one is based on non-violence, the other on expediency, since passive resisters might resort to violence if need be.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak (1856-1920) also supported passive resistance, which he sometimes termed 'boycott', holding the view that it was perfectly constitutional. 'If you have not the power of active resistance', he asked at a meeting in Calcutta on 2 January 1907, 'have you not the power of self-denial and self-abstinence in such a way as not to assist this foreign Government to rule over you? This is boycott and this is what is meant when we say, boycott is a political weapon. We shall not give them assistance to collect revenue and keep peace. We shall not assist them in fighting beyond the frontiers or outside India with Indian blood and money. We shall not assist them in carrying on the administration of justice. We shall have our own courts, and when time comes we shall not pay taxes.'[48] In a speech at Allahabad in October 1917, he told the audience they must clearly understand what passive resistance meant. It was a determination to achieve their goal at any sacrifice. 'If they wanted to reach their goal and if they were hindered by artifical and unjust legislation and by any unjust combination of circumstances it was their duty to fight it out. If they did not want to use the words "passive resistance" they might use the phrase "at all sacrifices", but he would use both phrases in the sense in which he explained them.'[49] Essentially Tilak's ideas were similar to those of Sri Aurobindo.

5 BOSE ON NON-VIOLENT GUERILLA WARFARE

Non-violence and truth were, in Gandhi's conception, inextricably connected; he considered them, as we have seen, the

obverse and the reverse of the same coin. Subhas Bose (1897-1945) took an entirely different view of non-violence. Bose, it will be remembered, had escaped from India to Germany to seek the assistance of the Axis Powers in the cause of Indian freedom. In a broadcast over Azad Hind Radio (Germany) on 31 August 1942, he developed the concept of non-violent guerilla warfare. Briefly, he said that guerilla warfare had two objectives: to destroy war production in India and to paralyse the British administration in India. Every section of the community, he said, should participate in the struggle. The payment of taxes should be stopped; workers in industries should hamper production by a 'go slow' campaign inside the factories, and carry out sabotage, for instance, by removing nuts and bolts in order to impede production; students should organize secret guerilla bands for carrying on sabotage; girl students should do underground work of all kinds especially as secret messengers; and government officials should give all available information to fighters outside and should try to hamper production by working inefficiently. The general public should, among other things, burn British stalls and government stores, publish secret bulletins, set up secret radio stations, set fire to Government offices and factories working for war purposes and destroy police stations and railway stations.

We are not concerned here with the desirability or feasibility of these methods; what is relevant to our discussion is that the concept of non-violence, as understood by Bose, had little to do with that of Gandhi. Secret methods and the advocacy of violence by burning police stations, railway stations and factories, however relevant to guerilla warfare and success or failure in a freedom struggle, were clearly contrary to the non-violence which stressed truth, love of the opponent and open methods. Bose's non-violent guerilla warfare is indeed a contradiction in terms; his interpretation of non-violence only reveals how differently the same concept could be interpreted by leaders and thinkers to the confusion of the ordinary man who is asked to accept it.

6 CRITICS OF SATYAGRAHA

Among those who subjected the theory of satyagraha (more especially in its non-co-operation and civil resistance aspects)

to criticism were Gokhale (1886-1915), Vijayaraghavachariar, President of the Indian National Congress in 1920, Srinivasa Sastri (1869-1946), Surendranath Banerjea (1848-1925), Sivaswami Aiyar (1864-1946) and M. Ruthnaswamy (b. 1885).

Speaking at Allahabad in 1907, Gokhale considered it preposterous that anybody should imagine that non-co-operation was feasible 'in the present state of the country'.[50] For instance, to take the question of the boycotting of Government service, it would be felt by Government only if the number of men needed to maintain Government service failed to come forward; therefore, non-co-operation would not be practical. On the question of boycotting schools, the replacement of schools by national schools would take years and demand a tremendous amount of sacrifice on the part of the people—a difficult thing to expect.

Vijayaraghavachariar considered non-co-operation—boycott of schools and courts, for example—not only impracticable but undesirable. In his Presidential Address to the Indian National Congress in 1920, he said that it had been an accepted maxim of their political life that students should be left in a calm atmosphere to pursue their studies, and to give up that sound maxim and to draw them into the highly excitable vortex of politics would be highly injurious to the nation; it could also lead to the disruption of the family as the students would be separated from parents and from elder brothers and sisters. The setting up of arbitration courts in place of the regular courts raised the question whether arbitration courts manned by private citizens were capable of handling complex cases involving, for instance, highly delicate questions of right and wrong arising from contract. In his view, the handling of many aspects of law required skilled and technical experience which such courts could not supply. Besides, the abolition of courts and of the profession of law would result in the increase of offences and criminal cases, and in the decline of the rule of law—a bad preparation for the democratic form of government which they wanted to establish.

As a theoretical analysis based on the working of non-co-operation in 1921-2, the view of Srinivasa Sastri, a trusted counsellor of Gandhi, is that non-co-operation is a doctrine of negation. Speaking at the First Provincial Liberal Conference as its President on 7 May 1922, he said that non-co-operation

had produced a curious psychology: people, young and old, men and women, villagers and townsmen, were falling into the habit of excessive pessimism in their estimate of things; and on every occasion when they wished to show their dissatisfaction, they showed it by saying that they must boycott, they must withdraw, they must non-co-operate, they must do nothing, in fact (adopt) a doctrine which cannot be described as anything else than a translation into our political life of the old Buddhist doctrine of perfect negation, to detach yourself from life by doing as little as possible, by doing nothing and getting away and further away from karma'.[51] Again, non-co-operation spread a spirit of revolt and undermined the essential foundation of society, viz., the habit of obedience to law and order. Moreover, it tended to throw up the disparity between profession and practice 'which one occasionally sees in political matters, but which became palpable in the non-co-operation programme for the first time'[52] as may be seen from the fact that tens of thousands of people acclaimed, in theory, the boycott of schools and courts as a most desirable thing, but, in practice, very few did boycott schools and courts.

In his *A Nation in the Making* (1925), Surendranath Banerjea brought out another failing of non-co-operation. The non-co-operating masses (not the great leaders) were consumed with hatred of the alien government and its officials; and when a sentiment is firmly rooted in the public mind, it grows and expands. From a hatred of the alien government and its officials, it is extended to political and religious opponents and other castes and creeds. Banerjea quoted Gandhi as having said that 'they were non-co-operating among themselves by carrying on a programme of hatred and violence among themselves' and added, 'It is this sentiment of hatred fostered among the masses, directed in the first instance against the British Government, that came by a natural process of growth, to be extended to all others who worshipped in a different temple, culminated in those communal and caste feuds that have darkened our recent history'.[53]

Arguing that there is no such thing as a legal right to disobey any law and that even a conscientious objector can only claim that he is morally justified by his conscience in breaking a law which he considers to be unrighteous, Aiyar, in an Article in the *Indian Review* (1930), conceded that there were undoubtedly

occasions in the history of a country when it might become the moral duty of a citizen to express his disapproval of a bad law by disobeying it. But under what conditions does this moral right arise? Remembering that the general exercise of the right to set up one's conscience above the law whenever any one disapproves of any law would engender a habit of lawlessness and end in the disruption of society, Aiyar cautioned that a people must first exhaust every means of persuading the Government of the need for an alteration of the constitution and seek to bring it about by peaceful methods without subverting the authority of the Government. It is only when all such peaceful methods fail and as a last resort that a people would be justified in taking the extreme step of disobeying, defying and resisting the Government. Such occasions cannot arise under a system of responsible government; they may, however, arise under a system of irresponsible government, especially by one nation of another, if the ordinary rights and liberties of the citizens are trampled under foot, and it is not possible to secure redress by lawful methods. The advocates of civil disobedience should, however, remember (a) that the spirit of lawlessness, of law-breaking, once roused cannot be laid to rest when the particular occasion has passed, and hence wise caution in resorting to it is indicated; and (*b*) that since a non-violent rebellion against the Government and against law and authority with the object of completely paralysing it is just as revolutionary as an armed rebellion, and since no organized society can exist without preservation of law and order, the government would be justified in putting down the revolutionary movement to maintain law and order. However, these statements would imply that the government might not be justified in putting down the revolutionary movement unless(*a*) a court of law of the land had defined it as a revolutionary movement which challenged the law and threatened order, and (*b*) compromise and/or acceptance of the revolutionary demands were not considered possible, or (*c*) the system of law and order operating in the country (*i*) was enacted by a non-representative minority of the population or (*ii*) offended against internationally accepted codes of justice.

In his *Political Philosophy of Mr. Gandhi* (1922), M. Ruthnaswamy (b. 1885) has made some thoughtful criticsmis

of the political ideas underlying non-violent non-co-operation. Arguing that the negative passive policy of non-co-operation is in the Hindu tradition, Ruthnaswamy asks if such a policy, appropriate to the simple society of the ancient village, is equally appropriate to the complex society and mixed population of today.* His view is that it is not. Non-co-operation did very well in the simple and homogeneous society of ancient India and was a useful instrument of political criticism in a State which consisted only of simple isolated villages. Non-co-operation in such a society created social disturbance only in one village at a time and did not affect the stability of the state. Besides, the reasons for which non-co-operation was undertaken in those days were reasons that men understood easily for it was wrongs of actual personal experience, such as overassessment by village officials, that led to such non-co-operation as was then resorted to. Briefly, non-co-operation was successful in those days because it was made use of in a society that was simple, among a people that was homogeneous and for reasons that were real and immediate. By contrast, the political and social circumstances of modern India are very different. We have a complex state in which villages and towns are interlinked by political and economic bonds; there is no homogeneity, the population consisting of Hindus, Muslims and Christians. Unanimity, so essential for the success of non-co-operation, is difficult to secure. Non-co-operation is too simple, too straight, too blunt and obvious a weapon to be effective in a numerous, diversified, cross-grained state like that of modern India.

Moreover, a general spirit of civil disobedience is likely to be harmful to the State in the long run: while the right to disobey is the most potent sanction of constitutional government, it must, as Burke said, be the medicine of the Constitution and not its daily bread. A general spirit of civil disobedience to the State, if engendered in the mass of the people, is likely to be harmful to the stability of the State in the long run. 'It may help to destroy British rule, but will it be easy to exorcise it even in the India of Swaraj?'[55]

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* 'Caste was the political and social organisation "par excellence" of ancient India. And the sanction of that association, the thing which kept it together, was boycott. The members of a caste, one of whom had outraged its rules and conventions, simply non-co-operated with him. Social ostracism or boycotting was only a form of non-co-operation.'[54]

Ruthnaswamy went on to say that Gandhi's theory of non-co-operation is based upon false political premises, viz., that governments exist only if their subjects co-operate with them. Governments exist, it is true, only if the people governed obey them; but the greater part of that obedience is passive and negative. Non-co-operation would succeed only if an active and continuous co-operation of the people with government was normal; but that is not true, as much of political obedience is passive acquiescence.

The basic mistake which Gandhi made, in Ruthnaswamy's view, is that he took an over-optimistic view of human nature, that man is by nature good and peaceful. He questioned the validity of this view stating that man's great drama is that of battling against his own worst nature. The achieving of goodness and the peaceful attitude in man takes time. The world of action is not like the world of ideas free of the laws of motion and friction. 'Mr. Gandhi like most idealists before him has made the audacious mistake of trying to annihilate time'[56], and time is a necessary condition of action taken by individuals or nations towards the gaining of a better life.

Satyagraha as a Political Method

We are now in a position to estimate the significance of satyagraha as a political method. The essence of satyagraha, we have seen, is that the person resorting to it is willing to undergo personal suffering to the limit, in body and mind, to vindicate truth as he thinks it to be; he will, therefore, civilly, without resort to physical force, resist an unjust law, executive order or a social practice until that is modified in a just manner, or until life is extinct in him. It is belief in the power of spirit, the power of truth, the power of love by which we can overcome evil through self-suffering and self-sacrifice. In his *Satyagraha in South Africa*, Gandhi himself described the doctrine of satyagraha thus:—

'The world rests upon the bedrock of *satya* or truth. *Asatya* meaning untruth also means non-existent, and *satya* or truth also means that which is. If untruth does not so much as exist, its victory is out of the question. And truth being that which is can never be destroyed. This is the doctrine of satyagraha in a nutshell.'[57]

Can conflicts, individual, inter-group and international, be resolved through the power of love and truth, non-violently? This is the central question that has to be raised in an estimate of satyagraha as a political method. Satyagraha, as a science, is yet young according to Gandhi. He wrote: 'I have no set theory to go by'[58]; 'I have not worked out the science of Satyagraha in its entirety'[59] and 'Satyagraha, as conceived by me is a science in the making'.[60] In other words, there are some lacunae in the theory, as will be seen below; nevertheless, as it is, we shall be justified in thinking with Smuts that the principle of suffering to move the sympathy and gain the support of others for the cause one has at heart—where ordinary political methods of reasoning and persuasion fail—is 'Gandhi's distinctive contribution to political method'.[61] This may be discussed under two heads, individual satyagraha and mass satyagraha.

Individual Satyagraha

Brute force as a method of settling conflicts has been tried for centuries and found wanting, because the right to use such force is not necessarily defensible, nor does it end the conflict in the long-term. Though temporarily the conflict may end, the hatred generated by the use of physical force is likely to create a spirit of vengeance, and the conflict will break out again as soon as the defeated party feels physically strong. As an alternative to brute force, the use of soul force is more likely to be morally and legally justifiable for the reasons that its successful application is not dependant on physical force and that those using soul force are prepared to suffer for a cause which they believe to be just. Such people may feel that they are more likely to be on the side of justice than others. We say, advisedly, 'more likely' because there is no absolute certainty that what the satyagrahi's conscience tells him is consistent with his conception of justice, nor indeed with such conceptions of justice as are held by other individuals and social groups in his or in other societies. He may be misleading himself. There is a problem here of moral responsibility. The use of soul-force was meant to be restricted to circumstances where it provided support for a cause which its upholder believed to be incontrovertibly just. Gandhi was, however,

aware of the weakness of this theory, that no man may reasonably claim that his beliefs and actions are right or just in any absolute sense, since such judgement is always relative to his own assumptions, or those made by the social groups in which he lives. Gandhi felt that a man could describe an act as a wrong one if his thought proceeded consistently with his own assumptions about the nature of just acts. Neither side of any dispute may reasonably claim to take action that is 'absolutely' just. To establish this an arbitrary judicial code would have to be accepted by all as providing the international standard of 'absolute justice', and to do this every factor in every situation from which the code was abstracted would have to be known. It is a matter of speculation as to whether such knowledge could be gained.

Here the criticism made by Srinivasa Sastri about Gandhi's fast unto death is well-grounded. He wrote to Gandhi on 7 May 1933: 'You have enough philosophy to understand that to claim divine sanction for a course of conduct is to withdraw it from the field of discussion and deprive it of direct validity to other minds'.[62] In other words, research is needed to study whether a course of action which is held in the mind of a satyagrahi to be a benefit to the community is held to be such in the judgement of 'other minds', or whether a universal yardstick for measuring potential public benefit could ever be established in the way that a country's legal code prescribes the limits of socially acceptable behaviour.

Mass satyagraha

In the field of mass satyagraha also, the basic principle evolved by Gandhi is infinitely idealistic: every individual is potentially capable of understanding and practising the primary human virtues of love, understanding the other man's point of view, *ahimsa* and suffering in order to achieve what is believed to be right. Further, Gandhi laid down certain conditions for the understanding of satyagraha and evolved a system of training for the satyagrahi so that the required qualities of truth and ahimsa could be developed in him. Moreover, in a mass satyagraha, according to him, it is not essential that every one should be all-perfect so long as he is disciplined and has learnt to obey. Just as in a war, the Commander, a

soldier, is obeyed by the rank and file, so too if the select leaders in a satyagraha campaign were well-trained, the men under them would carry out the orders. Nevertheless there are two directions in which it appears research would be useful to avoid the loopholes in the theory of mass satyagraha referred to by critics. Those critiques to which we have referred earlier —by Gokhale, Vijayaraghavachariar, Sastri, Banerjea, Aiyar and Ruthnaswamy—are reducible to the impracticability of ensuring that the basis and core of satyagraha, the minimum discipline, is present in the mass of men; where that is lacking personal and social disintegration may be followed by acts of violence.

Firstly, Gandhi thought that just as each member of a family may learn to love the other members, so each member of a society could learn to love every other. He wrote in the *Harijan*:

'It has become the fashion these days to say that society cannot be organized or run on non-violent lines. I join issue on that point. In a family, when a father slaps his delinquent child, the latter does not think of retaliating. He obeys his father not because of the deterrent effect of the slap but because of the offended love which he senses behind it. That in my opinion is an epitome of the way in which society is or should be governed. What is true of the family must be true of society which is but a larger family.'[63]

Can the analogy hold good? Love exists in a small institution like the family primarily on account of the intimate relations of its members; can a large society develop love—so necessary for non-violence—without those intimate relations, which are, by reason of the size of a society, difficult to develop? Secondly, modern research in social psychology* has indicated that a crowd develops certain traits, of fear, imitation and insincerity, which no member of the crowd, as an individual in isolation, would think of developing. How can the qualities expected of the rank and file in a mass satyagraha be developed in the light of these revelations?

Gandhi was an idealist, much ahead of his time. Even if the pure theory of non-violence developed by him may not be adopted by imperfect men, the growing importance attached

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*See, for example, Ogburn and Nimkoff: *A Handbook of Sociology* (London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1964, Part III : Group Behaviour).

to complete disarmament and to peaceful means of settling conflicts (negotiation, conciliation and arbitration) suggests that mankind may still learn something of fundamental value from the principle of satyagraha: 'All our world organizations will prove ineffective if the truth that love is stronger than hate does not inspire them'.[64]

5

WHAT IS A NATION?

1 NATION AND NATIONALISM

In the first half of the present century, more especially from 1917, when the progressive realization of responsible self-government was announced in the British Parliament as the goal of British policy in India, till 1947 when India attained independence, there was, naturally, much speculation on the meaning of such basic concepts as nationality, nation and State. The Muslims formed a sizeable part of India's population, and fears began to be expressed by some of their leaders that the interests of the Muslim community would not be safe in the hands of an Indian Government as that Government was bound to be controlled by a permanent Hindu majority; it was only one step from this for them to claim that they were a 'nation', and not merely a community. They attempted to justify this claim by a close examination of the concept of 'nation-hood' in the light of political theory and of history. The leaders of the Hindus as well as of non-communal organizations like the Indian National Congress also applied themselves to the clarification of this and allied concepts like nationality, nationalism and State.

Quite naturally, too, thinkers on the subject drew heavily on well-known Western writers like H. Sidgwick, J. Bryce, C. A. Macartney, J. Stalin, W. Friedmann and A. Cobban. We need not concern ourselves with such borrowed ideas; it will be more relevant to examine those elements in Indian thinking (relating to the basis of nationhood) which had their origin in Indian experience and in the Indian environment.

We may start this examination with a statement of B. R. Ambedkar's ideas on the subject which are so unexceptionable that no Indian thinker of the period could legitimately differ from him. Nationality, says Ambedkar in his *Thoughts on Pakistan* (1941), is a subjective psychological feeling. It is a feeling of a corporate sentiment of oneness which makes those who are charged with it feel that they are kith and kin. This national

feeling, he adds, is a double-edged one. It is at once a feeling of fellowship for one's own kith and an anti-fellowship feeling for those who are not one's own kith. It is a feeling of consciousness of kind which, on the one hand, binds together those who have it so strongly that it overrides all differences arising out of economic conflicts or social differences, and, on the other, severs them from those who are not of their kind. It is a longing to belong to one's own group and a longing not to belong to any other group. V. D. Savarkar (1883-1966) is of a similar view that the necessary condition for the constitution of an organic nation is the will of the people to become one homogeneous national unit; there may be differences among them, but 'they differ more from other people as a national unit than they differ amongst themselves'.[1]

The differences between one thinker and another really arise (*a*) when they consider what the significant elements are which go to make for this corporate feeling; and (*b*) when they consider whether the Hindus and the Muslims should be one nation or two. We are not concerned with the latter as it forms part of political and social history; to the former, some attention may be given.

In a lecture published in 1908, Sri Aurobindo (1872-1950) argues that nationalism is a religion by which we are trying to recognise the presence of God in the nation, in our fellow-countrymen. 'We are trying to realize Him in the three hundred millions of our people....We are trying to live not for our Interests, but to work and to die for others. When a young worker in Bengal has to go to jail, when he is asked to suffer, he does not feel any pang in that suffering, he does not fear suffering.'[2] Why? 'This is...the absolute denial of the idea of one's separate self, and the finding of one's higher eternal self in the three hundred millions of people in whom God himself lives'—a clear expression of the *advaitic* idea of the non-dualistic relation between the individual and God. *Advaita*, it will be recalled postulates the existence of Brahman, the one universal soul; separate selves are part of the Divine Essence. Sri Aurobindo's idea of enhancing the idea of nationalism by giving it a significance both intellectual and religious is also, incidentally, intended to encourage the nationalist worker who is asked to undergo any suffering for the sake of achieving freedom from

foreign rule. 'When you believe in God, when you believe that God is guiding you, believe that God is doing all and that you are doing nothing—what is there to fear? ...It is not you, it is something within you. What can all these tribunals, what can all the powers of the world do to that which is within you, that Immortal, that unborn and undying one, whom the sword cannot pierce, whom the fire cannot burn, and whom the water cannot drown? Him the jail cannot confine and the gallows cannot end.'[3]

To Sri Aurobindo, it is clear that what stimulates a sense of belonging among the members of a nation, and what stimulates the urge to work for the good of a nation, is the belief that every member of the nation is part of the Divine Essence.

Bipin Chandra Pal (1858-1932) shares Sri Aurobindo's view. In his Preface to a selection from his writings and speeches published in 1907, he says that the national movement in India is essentially 'a spiritual movement' and that the philosophy behind it is the philosophy of the Absolute, the Philosophy of Brahman as applied to the interpretation of man's social and economic life. 'It looks upon man as the spirit of God incarnated, and views social and civic institutions as instruments and vehicles for the progressive revelation and realisation of God in and through man.'[4]

Aware of the shortcomings in the social organization of India in relation to the development of the sense of belonging so necessary for a nation, R. Tagore (1861-1941) utters an essential warning in his *Nationalism* (1917): 'Whatever weakness we cherish in our society will become the source of danger in politics....The narrowness of sympathy which makes it possible for us to impose upon a considerable portion of humanity the galling yoke of inferiority will assert itself in our politics in creating the tyranny of injustice.'[5]

Tagore was clear in his mind that, in 1917 when he wrote his penetrating essay on nationalism, the basis of nationalism was lacking in India. And what is that basis? It is found in a society where there is mobility and interaction between different sections of the population, and where intermarriage is permitted. The existence of different castes, with no intermarriage among them, is a great hindrance to the development of that sense of unity which is the essence of nationhood. Have we an instance

in the whole world, he asks, where a people, who are not allowed to mingle their blood, shed their blood for one another except by coercion or for mercenary purposes? 'And can we ever hope that these moral barriers against our race amalgamation will not stand in the way of our political unity?'[6]

A third distinctive element in Indian thinking—i.e. in addition to the religious and the social basis of nationalism referred to by Sri Aurobindo, B. Pal and R. Tagore—is the concept of the motherland as the key idea of nationalism brought out by Golwalkar (b. 1906) in *Not Socialism But Hindu Rashtra* (1964). It is a universally accepted fact, Golwalkar says, that if in a particular piece of land, there is a people who consider that land as their mother and have reverence for it and also have a common inheritance, common goal of life, common culture, common understanding of the other peoples of the world as to whether they are friendly or hostile, common impressions of the past—happy or unhappy—and a community of interests, such a people are called the Nation in that particular land, e.g. 'this great country of ours with the Himalayas with all its branches extending North, South, East and West and with the territories included in these great branches right up to the Southern Ocean ...is one great unit in which we have been living as the children of the soil'.[7] He argues further that political changes have accounted for changes in boundaries but 'it is not right to say that the portions we have lost are not ours at all'.[8] The boundaries of a country are not decided by fleeting political situations. The land of a nation is holy for its people. Every particle of dust, everything living or non-living, animate or inanimate, every stream and reservoir is holy for them. The love for the motherland is like the love of a child for its mother; every citizen must be prepared to defend every inch of the motherland with his life-blood.

2 RELIGION AS THE BASIS OF NATIONHOOD

The view that religion is the basis of a nation, held by some thinkers during the period, may be illustrated from two Muslim writers, J. Ahmed and the anonymous 'M. R. T.'. J. Ahmed argues that it is not community of race, or of economic interest, or attachment to a territory that forms the essence of a nation;

it is the culture that has developed from religion which determines the existence of a nation.

> The Muslims, who ruled this country for not less than eight hundred years, realized that they have all the requisite characteristics of a nation, a nation fundamentally different from all other nations. ...Their idea of nationality is not based on identity of race or community of economic interest or attachment to the geographical boundaries of a particular territory; it rests on a definite life—outlook and a social polity. Islam is not a mere religion among religions, a scheme of salvation in the life hereafter or a matter of private relationship between the individual and his God. Islam is a social policy and a state-idea whose purposes cannot be fulfilled except through a corporate and well-ordered society. It is on this basis that the Muslims take their stand as a distinct political and social unit. They are deeply conscious of their separate cultural characteristics which have developed from their adherence to an all-embracing creed and certain moral principles governing all aspects of life. It is these separate cultural characteristics which entitle them to claim for themselves the status of a separate nationality. (J. Ahmed: *Is India One Nation?* 1940)[9]

'M.R.T.' has taken the stand that nationalistic ideas in India have been misconceived as they have been borrowed, without understanding, from the West. Indian thinkers and leaders forget that nationalism of the Western brand is the creation of special circumstances in Europe which presuppose the existence of a homogeneous people within the bounds of a country. These special circumstances are that the Western nations are all one by religion, e.g. Christianity; there is no conflict of religions there now. But there was a time when religion was a decisive force. The history of Spain, the Balkans and Southern Russia shows that the Christians and the Muslims could not live together; the conflict ended with the Christians driving away the Muslims or by dominating them. Hence he concludes that religion is a decisive force in the evolution of the nation-idea:

> ...religion alone is a cohesive force for the idea of nationality. In countries where the allegiance of people is divided on the basis of religion, the idea of a single

nationality has never finally succeeded. In Germany, the Christians and Jews have lived together for centuries and yet they have failed to weld together into a single nation. The Nazis have only recently discovered a remedy by concentrating Jews in a separate homeland in the central part of Poland.

The Muslims and Christians lived together for more than 800 years in Spain and yet the idea of a single nationality could not be developed. It was only when the Muslims had been driven out of the country or had been forcibly converted to Christianity that the modern Spanish nation came into existence.

Very often in the fold of the same religion, marked differences in views have led to the division of a nation into two or more parts. In Ireland the Protestant Ulster men and the Roman Catholic Irishmen do not wish to form a common national State. The Dutch and the Belgians are very small peoples who could easily be united into a single nation but it was mainly the religious differences that led to the final separation of the two countries. The Belgians are Roman Catholics by religion and their neighbours, the Dutch, are Protestants. The present conception of nationality in Europe is really based upon the idea of a common Christian religion. European Nations are Christian by Religion.

Europe has so far not tolerated the government of any other nation unless it be Christian by religion. Islam came into contact with Christians in various parts of Europe and established successful governments in Spain, South Italy and Sicily, the Balkan Peninsula and Southern Russia. So long as the aggressive wave of Christian nationalism was held in abeyance, the Muslims managed to preserve their religion and culture, but with the re-generation of Modern Europe in the 16th century, a general crusade began against Muslim settlers in all parts of Europe. The Pope, as head of the Roman Catholic Church, supported the Spanish Inquisition and other measures for the extirpation of Muslim influence from Europe, while the Czars of Russia as heads of the Greek Catholic Church drove out Muslims from the southern provinces and

> exercised a reign of complete tyranny over those Muslims who were still left under Russian rule. In fact the Muslims were never considered as equal in status to Christians and were deprived of the common rights of citizenship. (M.R.T. 'One Nation Myth Exposed', in the *Eastern Times*, 12 April 1940.[10])

Briefly, there is no example in European history of a Christian State attempting to admit Muslims to equal political rights, even though they were of the same stock and blood as the native Christians. 'We are most often acquainted with the growth of nationalism on the basis of race or historic tradition', says 'M.R.T.', 'and have consequently ignored religion as also one of the decisive forces in forming a nation'.[11]

3 NATION AND STATE

Differing from the ideas discussed in the last section, Rajendra Prasad (who later became the first President of the Indian Republic) argued in his *India Divided* (1946) that a distinction must be made between personal nationality and political nationality. Personal nationality is founded on characteristics which are personal, often inherited and usually objective. These characteristics exist in the individual quite independently of the locality in which he may be domiciled, whether the majority of the inhabitants share them or no, and independently of the political régime under which he may live, whether this be in the hands of persons possessing these characteristics or no. The body of persons possessing these characteristics, i.e., similarity of race, language and religion, constitutes the nation. These characteristics have no political significance: a German of Austria, Czechoslovakia, Brazil or Honololu is as much a German as is a citizen of Berlin.

Political nationality is the membership of a State. A State, argues Prasad, need not be coterminous with a nationality. In fact, according to him, the attempt to establish national States, i.e., equating personal nationality with political nationality, has ended in failure and created more problems, such as those of racial, linguistic and religious minorities. The League of Nations proved ineffective in enforcing the Minority Treaties designed to protect the rights of racial, linguistic and religious

minorities. The solution of the problems of minorities, according to Prasad, does not lie in the direction of establishing national States which is impossible to attain because it is difficult to eliminate all heterogeneous minorities from homogeneous States; the solution should be sought in a multinational State which allows freedom for all national minorities, each being free to develop its distinctive sense of nationality. He cites four such multinational States: the English and the French in Canada, although belonging to two different national groups, constitute one State. The English and the Boers of South Africa, after a bloody war, by agreement constituted one State. The Soviet Union comprises many nationalities which enjoy adequate administrative autonomy to protect their distinctive nationalities. The Swiss furnish the classical illustration of peoples bearing national affinity to three nations by whom they are surrounded, viz., the French, the German and the Italian, and yet constituting one State.

The gist of R. Prasad's view is that while nationality is an important factor in the formation of a State it is not always the sole or even the dominant factor. On the other hand, while it may be conceded that purely political ties do not suffice to create a nation, it cannot be denied that they do constitute an important factor.

CRITIQUE

The diversity of ideas discussed in the three preceding sections is explained by the need which the respective thinkers felt they should stress in a particular situation such as the need to have power transferred from an alien government to the people of the country (Sri Aurobindo and B. Pal), the need to preserve for the Hindus the control of the territory of India (Golwalkar), the need for a separate homeland for the Muslims (J. Ahmed and 'M.R.T.') and the need to prevent the partition of India (R. Prasad). The question, however, which the student of political thought asks himself is whether there is any idea of permanent value in these diverse ideas which would enrich the concepts of nation and State.

Sri Aurobindo's idea that nationalism is a religion and that, since every individual in a nation partakes of the 'Divine essence',

it is his duty to work for the nation seems *prima facie* valuable in a situation where the people have an unbreakable faith in religion and in the *advaitic* version of it; but the query may well be raised, is it equally valuable where some members of the nation do not believe in *advaita*? Golwalkar's emphasis on territory as the most important constituent of the nation fails to convince, because history is replete with transfers of territory from one nation to another. 'M.R.T.''s argument that religion is the basis of nationality equally fails to convince, if only because other Muslim writers do not read history and politics as he read them. To cite two writers who differ from 'M.R.T.' A. Maudoodi, in his essay 'Nationalism and India' (1948), distinguished between political nationality and cultural nationality. The former exists for a 'people who are governed by one political system, and are, in virtue of this political unity, looked upon as one nation'. The latter is found among those people who are of one religion and who, therefore, are identical in their thoughts and ideas and sentiments and feelings. In other words, religion is not necessarily the basis of a nation. Maudoodi further held that the ultimate goal of Islam was a world State in which the claims of racial and national prejudices would be dismantled and all mankind incorporated in one cultural and political system. 'Islam cannot flourish in the lap of nationalism and nationalism too cannot find a place in the fold of Islam.'[12] The second writer to differ from 'M.R.T.' is the distinguished Muslim scholar A. K. Azad (Education Minister in the Government of India 1947-58). He wrote in his *India Wins Freedom* (1959): 'It is one of the greatest frauds on the people to suggest that religious affinity can unite areas which are geographically, economically, linguistically and culturally different. It is true that Islam sought to establish a society which transcends racial, linguistic, economic and political frontiers. History has, however, proved that after the first few decades or at most after the first century, Islam was not able to unite all the Muslim countries into one State on the basis of Islam alone'.[13]

While we must reject 'M.R.T.''s idea that religion is the basis of a nation, one cannot ignore his contribution to political thought: where religions conflict, and where the followers of one religion have a majority in a compact homeland, the tendency to claim nationhood grows and may become irresistible

as was proved by the partition of India and by the partition of Ireland.

The modern trend in theory is clearly with R. Prasad: there is a distinction between personal nationality and political nationality, and it is not essential in politics that a state should be considered identical to a nation. The two forces are neither identical nor necessarily parallel or allied. Personal nationality is the sense of belonging felt among a group of people, not always living under one State but feeling united by the similarity of language, religion and custom; political nationality is the membership of a State. It is true that after 1918, the doctrine 'one nation, one State' was put forward, but the experience of its implementation shows the dangers inherent in its adoption, primarily because the world cannot be divided into homogeneous nations based on personal nationality, and racial, linguistic and religious minorities will continue to exist disgruntled and without adequate protection.

It must be admitted that a uni-national as distinguished from a multi-national State has some distinct advantages: it facilitates harmony among its parts and engenders a sense of compromise and tolerance among its people which makes it relatively easy for them to work democratic institutions. That is why J. S. Mill insisted that it is in general a necessary condition of free institutions that the boundaries of governments should coincide in the main with those of nationalities: the sense of belonging together creates a readiness on the part of the members of a State to subordinate their differences to the common good.

There lurks, however, in this coincidence a danger pointed out by Lord Acton: under such conditions the majority may be tempted to increase the sphere of political regulation and enforce ways of behaviour which are akin to totalitarianism. "Diversity in the same state is a firm barrier against the intrusion of Government beyond the political sphere, which is common to all, into the social department which escapes legislation."[14] Acton, therefore, held that the combination of different nations in one state is as necessary a condition of civilized life as the combination of individuals to form society. Inferior races make progress by living in political union with races intellectually superior. Exhausted and decaying nations are revived by their contact with a younger vitality. Nations in which the elements

of organization and the capacity for government have been lost, either through the demoralizing influence of despotism or the disintegrating action of democracy, are restored and educated anew under the discipline of a stronger and a less corrupted race. The fertilizing and regenerating process can only be obtained by living under one Government. The multi-national view has the merit of drawing attention to the healthy idea that not every people is capable of creating and maintaining a State; only a people of political capacity, possessing manly qualities, understanding and courage, and able to defend itself, can rightly claim to establish an independent State. Events since 1939 only reinforce the strength of this view. The dissociation of statehood from nationhood will help to mitigate much disquiet and frustration in the world and help to establish international peace.

Finally, we may add that R. Tagore's contribution to the concept of nation is significant: unless the social conditions in a country permit free intermingling—through intermarriage and participation in social and professional activities—the sense of belonging so essential to the unity of a nation cannot easily develop. 'The same inertia which leads us to our idolatry of dead forms in social institutions', Tagore wrote in 1917, 'will create in our politics prison-houses with immovable walls.'[15] That a united nation cannot be built on the quicksand of social slavery, which Tagore emphasized, is a truth which will stand the test of time.

6

THE INDIVIDUAL, SOCIETY AND THE STATE

INTRODUCTORY

The first five chapters of this survey have shown that during the second half of the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth, the attention of the leading thinkers was primarily devoted to a dependent people's conception of imperial rule, the justification for self-government, political methods and ideas regarding nationality, nation and State. The attention devoted to these ideas was natural to a people with a dependent status, anxious to throw off their dependence and attain freedom. It is interesting, however, that, even before the attainment of independence, some attention was given by thinkers, probably in the expectation that freedom was bound to come sooner or later, to the basic problems of society and the State. Quite naturally, the attention devoted to these basic problems was greater and more purposeful after the country attained political freedom in 1947. In this chapter and the succeeding three chapters, we shall consider the ideas of our thinkers regarding a just social order, the aim and nature of the state and the relation of the state to the individual, democracy, freedom and equality, socialism and communism and the role of religion in politics.

1. THE GOOD SOCIETY

What is a just social order? Among the foremost thinkers in the period under survey, who in their own distinctive ways analysed the elements which go to make up a good society, Rabindranath Tagore, M. K. Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave, Jawaharlal Nehru, M. N. Roy and Jayaprakash Narayan must be counted as the foremost. The elements which find mention in their writings may best be described under five heads : individual freedom, economic equality and trusteeship, the cultivation of human relations, the equation of means and ends and the place of woman in society.

Individual Freedom

Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964), the first Prime Minister of India, was clear in his view that the promotion of individual

freedom was most essential for the well-being of society. In his essay 'The Basic Approach' (1958) he wrote that in order to give the individual and the nation a sense of purpose, something to live for and, if necessary, to die for, it was necessary to provide some philosophy of life. 'We talk of the good of society. Is this something apart from and transcending the good of the individuals composing it? If the individual is ignored and sacrificed for what is considered the good of the society, is that the right objective to have?'[1] His answer is that the individual should not be so sacrificed and ...real social progress would be achieved only when opportunity was given to the individual to develop, provided the individual was not a representative of a selected group, but of the whole community. The touchstone, therefore, should be how far any political or social theory enabled the individual to think in terms of the good of all.

Starting with the premise that without moral men, there can be no moral society, M. N. Roy (1887-1954) in his *Reason, Romanticism and Revolution* develops the idea that the quest for freedom provides the basis for man's constant search for knowledge, which enables him to become progressively free from the tyranny of natural phenomena and physical and social environments; it is in fact a continuation of the biological struggle for existence. In modern society an individual, to be free, must not only be able to enjoy economic sufficiency and security, but live in a psychological atmosphere free from cultural regimentation and helpful to the development of his intellectual and other human potentialities. 'Progressive attainment of freedom in this wide sense by the individuals composing society should provide the criterion for judging the merits of social organisation. Guided by the dictum of ancient wisdom that man is the measure of everything, the philosophy of the future should proclaim that the merit of any pattern of social organisation or political institution is to be judged by the actual measure of freedom it affords to the individual.'[2]

The individual, according to M. K. Gandhi, is the one supreme consideration; and the state is a means for the development of individuality 'which lies at the root of all progress.'[3] In the thinking of the period, an important place saw given to analysing the conditions under which individual freedom could develop and be safeguarded. We must add that the

thinkers were not oblivious of the need for social restraints considered to be in the interests of social good. Thus Nehru, in the statement cited above, was careful to point out that the individual freedom must be adjusted to the good of all; Gandhi was equally careful to say that the individual must learn 'to adjust his individualism to the requirements of social progress.'[4]

Economic Equality, Trusteeship

That economic equality is an essential condition of a good society is a commonplace in contemporary world thought; that it would find expression in political thought in India could, therefore, be taken for granted. What it is important to analyse is the content of the concept as developed in the Indian thought of the period, more especially as it was linked to the ancient Indian concept of renunciation, that is to say, the idea of giving up material possessions to pursue a spiritual calling.

Gandhi and Vinoba Bhave are undeniably the leaders in this field of thought. Ideas about the attainment of non-possession, 'bread labour' and equality of wages form the core of their thinking on economic equality as an ideal.

Their view was that the limitation of wants, not their multiplication, is the key to a contented, harmonious society, and that it is a fundamental law of nature that nature produces what is strictly needed for our wants from day to day. Therefore, if everybody took enough for himself and nothing more, no one would die of starvation in the world. Whoever appropriates more than the minimum is guilty of theft. It is a breach of this observance to possess anything without needing it or to keep a superfluous thing. Perfect fulfilment of the ideal of non-possession requires that a man should, like the birds, take no thought for the morrow. The ideal, according to V. Bhave, is that we should say of whatever we produce in field or factory, 'This is for the community, for the nation; it is not for me.'[5] We should dedicate all that we have to society. And then what we receive back from society according to our needs will be life-giving.

Secondly, according to Gandhi, it is a divine law that man must earn his bread by labouring with his own hands. The idea behind this law is that every healthy individual must labour enough for his food, and his intellectual faculties must be exercised

not in order to obtain a living or amass a fortune but only in the service of mankind. The production of everything needed to satisfy essential human wants (e.g. agriculture, spinning, weaving, carpentry, smithery) and labour in all essential occupations (e.g. scavenging, sweeping the streets, cleaning a well or a tank) may be included under 'bread labour'. In three remarkable articles (1935-47), acknowledging his debt to Ruskin's *Unto This Last* and to a Russian writer named T. M. Bondaref, Gandhi argued that if all laboured for their daily bread (understood as above) and no more, there would be enough food and enough leisure for all. 'Then there would be no cry of overpopulation, no disease and no such misery as we see around us today. Men will no doubt do many other things either through their bodies or through their minds, but all this will be labour of love for the common good. There will be no rich and no poor, none high and none low.'[6] Intellectual work is important. 'But what I insist on is the necessity of physical labour. No man, I claim, ought to be free from this obligation. It will serve to improve even the quality of his intellectual output.'[7]

Thirdly, the goal of economic equality is equality of wages for an honest day's work, be it that of a lawyer, a doctor, a teacher or a scavenger.

These three aims—non-possession, 'bread labour', equality of wages—provide the ideal. Gandhi and Bhave knew that man would ever remain imperfect and that complete non-possession or universal bread labour or absolute equality would remain unattainable ideals. Economic equality must, in practice, mean equitable distribution. This provides for variation according to the differences which exist in society. In a homely illustration, Gandhi pointed out in 1946 how his own needs as an older man, e.g. in food and warm clothing, differed from those of his own grand-nephew Kanu who stayed with him and was like his own son. 'The monthly expense of his food was far more than that of Kanu but that did not mean that there was economic inequality between them.'[8] Since it is not possible to assess definitely the variation in the needs of men, all that is possible is to reduce the difference between the rich and the poor. 'It means the levelling down of the few rich in whose hands is concentrated the bulk of the nation's wealth on the

one hand, and the levelling up of the semi-starved naked millions on the other.'[9] Further, every one must be assured a balanced diet, a decent house to live in, sufficient cloth with which to cover himself, facilities for the education of his children and adequate medical relief. 'The real implication of equal distribution', therefore, 'is that each man shall have the wherewithal to supply all his natural needs and no more'.[10] This is briefly, the Marxian formula, 'to each according to his needs', the amendment to that formula being that only the natural and essential needs will, or should be attended to.

But should the capable and the talented men be prevented from acquiring more than others less capable and talented, and should the rich be dispossessed of their surplus wealth? Gandhi's answer is an emphatic 'no'. To prevent a capable and talented person from acquiring more wealth would be suicidal to social progress, for 'it will lose the gifts of a man who knows how to accumulate his wealth.'[11] Nor will violence, which the dispossession of the rich implies, benefit society. What is the solution?

Gandhi's theory of trusteeship, according to C. Rajagopalachari, is a valuable contribution to social theory. The rich man will be left in possession of his wealth of which he will use what he reasonably requires for his personal needs and will act as a trustee for the remainder which will be used for the benefit of society. 'As soon as a man looks upon himself as a servant of society, earns for its sake, spends for its benefit, then purity enters into his earnings and there is Ahimsa in his venture. Moreover, if men's minds turn towards this way of life, there will come about a peaceful revolution in society.'[12]

C. Rajagopalachari, in a thoughtful analysis of trusteeship written in 1959, extended the meaning given to it by Gandhi to include the idea that every one who holds a position and every one who owns property should hold them as trustees for all those who have dealings with them and for the community at large. If you are a trader, you are a trustee for your customers; if you own land, you are a trustee for your family, for your tenants and for the community, and so on in every case.

This social doctrine of trusteeship, according to Rajagopalachari, has great relevance in the complex society of the modern world in which the number of situations which trustee-

ship must govern has greatly increased. 'Every human action, no matter how intimate and personal, has some relation to public interest and attracts the principle of trusteeship.' 'The outdated but obstinate doctine of enlightened selfishness should be substituted by this doctrine of immanent trusteeship.'[13]

It is interesting that while Gandhi and Rajagopalachari praise trusteeship as valuable for social harmony and progress, Nehru thought poorly of it. He poses the question squarely and indeed, in posing the question, goes to the heart of the matter. Is it reasonable to believe in the theory of trusteeship —to give unchecked power and wealth to an individual and to expect him to use it entirely for the public good? Are the best of us so perfect as to be trusted in this way? 'Even Plato's philosopher-kings could hardly have borne the burden worthily. And is it good for the others to have even these benevolent supermen over them? But there are no supermen or philosopher-kings; there are only frail human beings who cannot help thinking that their own personal good or the advancement of their own ideas is identical with the public good. The snobbery of birth, position and economic power is perpetuated, and the consequences in many ways are disastrous.'[14]

Nehru also disagreed with Gandhi's conceptions of non-possession and the limitation of personal requirements as well as with that of the theory of trusteeship. In his *Toward Freedom* he says that Gandhi 'does not want people to make an ideal of ever-increasing comfort and leisure, but to think of the moral life, give up their bad habits, to indulge themselves less and less, and thus to develop themselves individually and spiritually. And those who wish to serve the masses have not so much to raise them materially as to go down themselves to their level and mix with them on equal terms. In so doing inevitably they will help in raising them somewhat.'[15] To Nehru, this was an 'utterly wrong and harmful doctrine'. 'Personally', says he, 'I dislike the praise of poverty and suffering. I do not think they are at all desirable and they ought to be abolished. Nor do I appreciate the ascetic life as a social ideal, though it may suit individuals. I understand and appreciate simplicity, equality, self-control, but not the mortification of the flesh.'[16] Even if desirable, the ascetic ideal of the deliberate and voluntary restriction of wants is impracticable for the masses. Instead,

he thought, advantage should be taken of the development of science and technology to increase their standards of living.

It is only fair to say that Rajendra Prasad better appreciated the essence of Gandhi's social theory. In a speech at the Gandhi Seminar on 17 January 1953, he said that, according to Gandhi, a desire for an 'undefined, indefinite, unlimited rise in the standard of living'[17] was at the root of social conflict. In a society which is based primarily on a desire to extend and expand these needs, Gandhi felt 'you could not avoid violence and, therefore, you have to go back to a stage when you have to limit your requirements and when you have to set a limit, not only upon what you want for yourself, but upon what you want for others, because it is this want which is at the basis of all conflicts and has in it the seeds of violence.'[18]

Human Relations

Gandhi and Bhave stressed the idea that while non-possession (always the ideal to be worked for) was unattainable, it was desirable—and not impracticable—to ensure that wealth would not be used by its possessor for luxurious personal enjoyment. Wealth could be amassed by the capable and the talented but the use of it—beyond what is necessary for satisfying the owner's natural and essential wants—should be for the welfare of the whole society. Tagore, like Gandhi, did not frown upon the acquisition of wealth or the power which the possession of wealth gave to its owner. But while the possession of 'hugely monstrous wealth' has its advantages, Tagore was more concerned with the question, what is its relation to true happiness? In a penetrating Address at Sriniketan in 1931, soon after he returned from Europe and the United States, Tagore posed the two related questions as to why there was so much inner suffering and unhappiness in the West, even though the use of the machine had enabled some people there to amass so much wealth, and as to where happiness may be found to lie.

The wealth that the West produces comes through the agency of huge and tremendously powerful machinery; it has thereby made life really much easier. But while the vehicle of wealth is the machine, the vehicle of the machine is man. They have created big cities as altars for the consecration of wealth. But one must remember, he says, that men are seldom intimately

related to one another in a city as they are in a village. The natural law of human nature is sociability. In fellowship man finds his refuge in society. 'When man is related with his neighbours in all respects, when his relationship pervades the home and the world beyond, its greatness itself brings him joy. We find our deepest satisfaction where it is not merely a practical relation, not a relation of convenience, nor of business but a relationship of friendliness transcending self-interest. There man may be deprived of everything, but he has an abundant satisfaction in the human soul.'[19]

The machine-cum-city civilization does not encourage the building up of natural, social, human relationships. 'We need not go far', he says, 'in Calcutta where we live, neighbours are not concerned with their mutual joys and sorrows and troubles. We do not even know one another's names'.[20] The field which favours the cultivation of human relations grows continually narrower; the power forged by wealth turns into a weapon of death for man, 'forges weapons to kill him and conspires to bring about his ruin; manufactures multitudes of lies, fosters cruelty and sows the seed of the poison tree. This must be so. When sympathy has departed, when man is wont to think of the bulk of humanity as a useful commodity, when he is accustomed to look upon millions of human beings as instruments for turning out cheaper cloth, for supplying him with food and for making luxury easily accessible, he does not see human beings, but only the machine in them.'[21] When natural human relations, unmotivated by self-interest are lost sight of, unhappiness follows, indeed as night follows the day.

Means and Ends

Violent means, for instance, will encourage violent swaraj which would be a menace to the political stability of the world and to India herself. The means may be likened to a seed, the end to a tree, and there is just the same inviolable connexion between the means and the end as there is between the seed and the tree. In Gandhi's view, means and end are indeed convertible terms, conceived of as the two sides of the same coin. That was the basis of Gandhi's doctrine of satyagraha and non-violence dealt with earlier in this survey; there is no need to dilate on the subject here. Briefly, Gandhi pointed the way to the

organization of a society founded on truth and non-violence; and he believed that every human being is capable of practising these primary virtues. Society will be harmonious and well-integrated if organized on that basis.

Jayaprakash Narayan (b. 1902) echoes the same view. 'There were many things Mahatma Gandhi taught us', he says in 'Ends and Means' (1948)' but the greatest thing he taught us was that means are ends, that evil means can never lead to good ends and that fair ends require fair means. Some of us may have been sceptical of this truth, but recent world events and events at home have convinced me that nothing but good means will enable us to reach the goal of a good society.'[22] Further, he points out, it is urgently necessary to stress moral values in politics, especially because since the rise of totalitarianism which includes Fascism, Nazism and Stalinism, apathy towards the moral basis of politics has set in on a mass scale and every individual in society has been affected by this. 'This has resulted in such an eclipse of moral values from social life that not only its political sector has been darkened but every sector of human life including even family life.'[23] It is time to stress the fundamental idea that the good society can never be realized except by strict adherence to certain human values and standards of conduct.

The views of Rajendra Prasad (1884-1963) and Jawaharlal Nehru (1889-1964) also deserve mention in this context. In *At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi* (1961), Rajendra Prasad unequivocally expressed the view that whatever is harmful or prohibited for an individual is equally so for the individual as to the nation or to society. 'If in our personal life and for our own advancement, we concede that a life of untruth is productive of harm', he said, 'it follows then that no good can come to a society or to a nation by a resort to untruthful action.'[24] We consider it wrong to say one thing and do another in our personal life; equally so should we consider it wrong to say one thing and do another in national affairs.

Nehru agreed broadly with the view of Gandhi, Narayan and Prasad, but with an important difference. In an Address to Columbia University on 17 October 1949, he said:

'I realize that a statesman or a man who has to deal with public affairs cannot ignore realities and cannot act in terms of

abstract truth. *His activity is always limited by the degree of receptivity of the truth by his fellow-men.** Nevertheless, the basic truth remains truth and is always to be kept in view and, *as far as possible*,* it should guide our own actions. Otherwise we get caught up in a vicious circle of evil when one evil action leads to another.'[25]

In thus substantially differing from Gandhi's view, Nehru is touching the heart of the controversy on the question, whether there is, or is not, a difference between public and private morality. Machiavelli and Kautilya, as is well-known, took the view that there is a difference, Gandhi that there is no difference; Nehru's own contribution to the subject is that so long as a statesman can carry the people with him, he ought to follow the same code of conduct as a private individual, for he is in the position of a trustee rather than that of a man who is free to devote his life, if necessary, to his ideals for what he considers the right conduct. A trustee's actions are limited by the interests of his ward. The real difficulty is, in fact, that in a democratic State, it is not easy for a statesman to know precisely what the will of the people on every question is; besides, the interests of one section of the people may also differ from those of another. Hence the cautious statement of Nehru on this vital issue.

The Place of Woman in Society

In the literature of the period, there is one striking essay on the role of woman in society by M. K. Gandhi which merits attention in a section on the 'good society'. Gandhi took what may be called a conservative view: that there is a natural division of spheres of work between man and woman. The duty of motherhood, which the majority of women will always undertake, requires qualities which man need not possess. She is passive, he is active. She is essentially mistress of the house. He is the bread-winner. She is the keeper and distributor of the the bread. She is the caretaker in every sense of the term. The art of bringing up the future citizens of the State is her special and sole prerogative. Without her care, the race must become extinct.

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* Italics mine.

'In my opinion', said Gandhi in an Article in the *Harijan* (1940), 'it is degrading both for man and woman that woman should be called upon or induced to forsake the hearth and shoulder the rifle for the protection of that hearth. It is a reversion to barbarity and the beginning of the end. In trying to ride the horse that man rides, she brings herself and him down. The sin will be on man's head for tempting or compelling his companion to desert her special calling. There is as much bravery in keeping one's home in good order and condition as there is in defending it against attack from without.'[26]

'Equal status but different vocations for man and woman' —this may be said to be the gist of Gandhi's view on the subject, a view which one wishes were more widely known.

2 *SOCIAL CHANGE*

Whatever the structure of a society, it inevitably reacts to changes in environmental conditions; our thinkers have something to say on the factors affecting the pace of this change, on evolution and on revolution.

S. C. Bose (1897-1945) in his *Mission of Life* (1953) took the view that there is no fundamental difference between 'evolution' and 'revolution'. Revolution is nothing but evolution taking place within a comparatively short span of time, whereas evolution is only another name for revolution spread over a longer period of time. An idea of change or replacement of one thing by another is at the root of both the concepts.

Perhaps this may be considered a superficial analysis, for it does not go to the root of the problem. How is revolution merely evolution taking place within a comparatively short span of time?

Nehru in his *Glimpses of World History* (1948) goes deeper into the causes of social revolutions, in the light of an analysis of revolutions in history including the French Revolution and the Industrial Revolution. His view, briefly, is that a wise society would make the necessary changes whenever the need for them arises and so derive full benefit from changing conditions. But societies are not wise and they do not think as a whole. Individuals think of themselves and of what will profit them; classes of people having similar interests do likewise. If a class dominates any society, it wants to remain there and to profit by

exploiting the other classes below it. 'Wisdom and foresight would demonstrate that in the long run the best way of profiting oneself is to profit society as a whole of which one is a member. But a person or class in power wants to hold on to what it possesses.'[27]

But social and economic changes do not wait on the pleasure of the complacent and unthinking in society. They march on, although people's ideas remain the same. The distance between these out-of-date notions and reality becomes greater, and if something is not done to reduce this distance and to bring the two together, the system cracks and there is a catastrophe. This is what, according to Nehru, brings about social revolutions. He thought that if the majority of people could avoid making the foolish error that there is an unchanging social order, but would adapt to changing conditions, there would be less likelihood of a social revolution. There would then be continuous evolution.

Another facet of social change discussed in the literature of the period is whether the fundamental social changes necessary for the creation of a 'progressive' society will be sufficient. The debate between Gandhi and Nehru is apposite in this connexion. Gandhi's trusteeship theory, which has been discussed earlier, is rooted in the assumption that if individuals are educated to know what is good, they will do good. Nehru takes quite a different view.

'Gandhiji wants', Nehru has written, 'to improve the individual internally, morally and spiritually, and thereby to change the external environment. He wants people to give up bad habits and indulgences and to become pure. He lays stress on sexual abstinence, on the giving up of drink, smoking, etc. Opinions may differ about the relative wickedness of these indulgences, but can there be any doubt that even from the individual point of view, and much more so from the social, these personal failings are less harmful than covetousness, selfishness, acquisitiveness, the fierce conflicts of individuals for personal gain, the ruthless struggles of groups and classes, the inhuman suppression and exploitation of one group by another, the terrible wars between nations?'[28] No. Nehru's view is that the evils are inherent in the acquisitive society, and that the political and social institutions which maintain the acquisitive

society must be radically changed : 'my quarrel is with a system and not with individuals. A system is certainly embodied to a great extent in individuals and groups, and these individuals and groups have to be converted or combated. But if a system has ceased to be of value and is a drag, it has to go, and the classes or groups that cling to it will also have to undergo a transformation.'[29]

It is interesting to note, finally, that while there is a basic disagreement between the two leaders of thought on social change, they agree that the method used to bring about social change must be peaceful, non-violent. Indeed, Vinoba Bhave, a close associate of Gandhi, makes the interesting point that those who want to bring about a revolution through bloodshed are not revolutionaries at all ; rather they are adhering to the existing situation. In an article in the *Harijan* (1951), he argues that : 'The object before them (those who are for a bloody revolution) is not a revolution but bringing about an exchange of places of the present unhappy and happy ones. Is that a revolution ? What change has come except that those who are happy become unhappy and the unhappy become happy ?'[30] A revolution should bring about satisfaction to all groups within the nation. The change must be brought about with the least suffering—a point with which Nehru agrees—just as the bee collects honey without causing any harm to the flowers. Appropriately, Bhave entitles his essay 'The New Revolution'.

3 THE AIM AND NATURE OF THE STATE

While we hardly find any systematic exposition of the aim and nature of the State in the documents of the period, two notable contributions may be briefly referred to here. These are criticisms of the utilitarian formula of 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number' and of the principles of the secular State.

Tilak on 'the greatest happiness of the greatest number'

It will be remembered that Bentham (1748-1832), the English social philosopher, had developed the theory of utilitarianism, that the greatest happiness of the greatest number was the objective of legislation. 'Nature has placed man', he said, 'under the governance of two sovereign masters, pain and

pleasure. It is for them alone to point out what we ought to do, as well as to determine what we shall do..... We owe to them all our ideas ; we refer to them all our judgements, and all the determinations of our life.'[31] It is the task of the legislator to promote human happiness, individual and social. In the calculus of happiness, everybody is to count as one and nobody for more than one. In dealing with a group, the number of persons affected has to be taken into account. So it is a matter of hedonistic calculus summing up pleasures and pains, considering the number of persons affected and seeing whether the law contemplated produces the greatest happiness of the greatest number.

B. G. Tilak (1856-1920) in his *Gita-Rahasya* (1910-11) subjects the theory to four criticisms :—

(*i*) Is a quantitative standard adequate ?—it may be sometimes misleading. Tilak gives an example. In the famous Mahabharata war between the Pandavas and the Kauravas, the Pandava army was of seven *aksauhinis* (a unit for counting the number of soldiers). But the Kaurava army was of eleven *aksauhinis*. 'Can one, therefore, argue that the Pandavas were in the wrong, on the ground that if the Pandavas had been defeated these eleven Kaurava *aksauhinis* would have become happy ? To decide questions of morality on the basis of numbers would be wrong on any number of occasions.'[32]

(*ii*) It must be borne in mind that something which is ordinarily considered as productive of happiness by all persons is, by a farsighted person, seen to be disadvantageous to all. 'Take, for example,' says Tilak, 'the cases of Socrates and Jesus Christ. Both of them were preaching to their countrymen what, in their respective opinions, was ultimately beneficial. But their countrymen denounced them as "enemies of society" and put them to death.'[33] We do not now say that what the ordinary people and their leaders did was just. This suggests that the theory of moral mathematics does not satisfactorily answer the questions, 'in what lies the happiness of millions of persons, how has that to be ascertained, and by whom?'[34]

(*iii*) The theory is mechanical and does not take into account the motivation of the persons concerned. 'We cannot arrive at a correct decision as to whether a particular act is good or bad, just or unjust, or moral or immoral by considering

merely its external result or effect, that is, by considering whether or not that will produce the greatest good of the greatest number. One has also necessarily to consider at the same time the reason, the desire, or the motive of the doer of the act.'[35] Tilak gives an illustration. There was once an occasion to construct a tramway for the benefit and happiness of all the citizens of a big city in America. But there were delays in obtaining the requisite sanction from the proper authorities. Thereupon, the directors of the tramway company gave a bribe to the persons in authority and the necessary sanction was immediately obtained; and the construction of the tramway being completed soon afterwards, all the people in the city were in consequence considerably benefited. Sometime after that, the bribery was found out and the manager of the tramway was criminally prosecuted and was convicted. 'In such a case the principle of the greatest good of the greatest number is useless by itself. The external effect of the bribery, namely, that the tramway came to be constructed because the bribe was given, was the greatest good of the greatest number; yet on that account, the fact that the bribe was given does not become (i.e. make it) legal.'[36]

(*iv*) The fourth drawback of the theory, according to Tilak, is it does not answer why altruism is better than egoism. The theory of enlightened self-interest, according to Tilak, "gets a chance of pushing itself forward in the absence of a theoretical justification for the validity of other's interest in preference to self-interest.' 'If both self-interest and other's interest have come into existence with man, why should one look upon the good of the greatest number as more important than one's own interest ? The answer, that other's interest should be protected because it involves the greatest good of the greatest number is not satisfactory; because the question itself is why I should bring about the greatest good of the greatest number'.[37]

Tilak's own view is that a materialistic explanation is unsatisfactory from the ethical point of view. While 'material objects are necessary for the protection of the body', that happiness which is to be found 'in the extremely noble activities and in the purest state of the Mind and of the Reason is the highest or the most ideal happiness of mankind.' 'Material

Happiness arising from the organs and the objects of the organs'[38] is also happiness but of a lower grade.

Gandhi on Sarvodaya

Gandhi preferred the concept of *sarvodaya* (welfare of all) to the utilitarian formula. The formula of the greatest happiness of the greatest number is defective, according to Gandhi, in three respects : (*i*) The utilitarians take happiness to mean material happiness exclusively, that is, economic prosperity. If, in the pursuit of this happiness, moral laws are violated, it does not matter much. (*ii*) A votary of *ahimsa* cannot subscribe to the utilitarian formula. He will strive for the greatest good of all and die in the attempt to realize the ideal. He will, therefore, be willing to die so that the others may live, whereas the logic of the utilitarian will not commit him to sacrifice his own beliefs in what offers the greatest happiness to the greatest number; since this is the objective, people in the West do not believe it to be wrong if it is secured at the cost of the minority.

Gandhi's own view was that the exclusive quest for the physical and material happiness of the majority has no sanction in divine law. Our aim must be to promote the welfare of all, not merely of the greater number.

Secularism

Secularism implies the absence of bias towards or against any particular religious group on the part of the Government. Nehru said in an Address to the Aligarh Muslim University in 1948 that to uphold secularism is axiomatic in a state like India, which includes people of all religions and shades of opinion; the theocratic conception of a state which regards people of other faiths as beyond the pale is not only outmoded, since the world gave up theocracy some centuries ago, but impracticable.

C. Rajagopalachari entirely agrees with this concept. He, however, adds to it in an article published in 1957:[39] secularism does not imply a negation of, or indifference to, religion, but an impartial non-sectarian encouragement of all religions and of all religious life and activity. The theory that different religions were predominantly influential in the development of different nations or that the State should belong to one religion more than another is denied in all interpretations of secularism. As S. A.

Husain says in his *The Destiny of Indian Muslims* (1965), many people who sincerely believe in the scientific and the political aspects of secularism, pay homage at the same time to the supreme value of religion to their lives. A tolerant and broadminded appreciation of all creeds and denominations and a respect for one another's religious beliefs and practices is inherent in the concept of secularism.

There will be general agreement with the clarification of the concept given by Rajagopalachari; perhaps there is no need to describe the influence of secularism or theocracy on government in this context.

4 *LIMITS TO AUTHORITY*

On the basic question in politics—what are the limits to the authority of the State over the individual and the limits of legislation views among the leading thinkers, as could be expected, greatly differ. Gandhi, Bhave, Tagore, R. P. Paranjpye and K. G. Mashruwala among others take the view that that government is best which governs least; socialistic thinkers take the view that State action has to be expanded in order to promote the welfare of the people.

It is interesting to note that as early as 1901, the view was held by D. E. Wacha (in his Presidential Address to the Indian National Congress 1901) that the legislative remedies had proved worse than the disease—he was referring to the spate of agrarian legislation in the country for over twenty years, an indication of his view that legislation was futile in curing agrarian ills. In an essay 'State and Society' published in 1904, R. Tagore wrote commending the idea held in ancient India that too much dependence on the Government was not conducive to social good: society must itself develop self-reliance and ways and means of getting many of the social needs attended to through social initiative instead of looking to Government for everything. M. K. Gandhi, writing in *Young India* (1925), held the view that swaraj government would be a sorry affair if people looked up to it for the regulation of every detail of life. 'Self-government means', he said, 'continuous effort to be independent of government control whether it is foreign government or whether it is national.'[40] In the ideal society, according

to Gandhi, there would be enlightened anarchy and every one would be his own ruler, ruling himself in such a manner that would never be a hindrance to his neighbour. But since the idea was never fully realized, he would be content with commending Thoreau's dictum that that Government is best which governs the least.

The reasons why State interference should be minimal according to these thinkers are:—Firstly, as has already been pointed out, too much interference by the State curbs individual and social initiative which is in every society the key to social progress. As Vinoba Bhave pointed out in 1954, the greater the initiative of the Government the less that of the people. Secondly, Gandhi says, the State represents violence in a concentrated and organized form in that the authority to use force is its monopoly, and the less violence occurs in society the better. Thirdly, R. P. Paranjpye (1876-1966), a rationalist, gave the specific reason that the principle of authority, by its very nature, implies stagnation wherever it may be applied. 'It lays down definite rules formulated by some past or extraneous agency; therefore, growth or change to suit new conditions is checked, if not altogether prevented.'[41] Fourthly, too many controls lead to inefficiency and corruption. As pointed out by a correspondent in a letter to K. G. Mashruwala, editor of the *Harijan*, on 24 December 1948, 'Red-tapism, bureaucratic methods of handling, lack of practical knowledge of the articles controlled, inordinate delay and corruption— terms which have become synonymous with government administration—will render controls as abominable as ever before.'[42] Fifthly, the efficient working of controls by Government demands fellow-feeling among citizens and civic sense; where for instance a large percentage of the population indulges in blackmarketing, no controls can work efficiently and demoralization of the mass of the people is an inevitable result.

C. Rajagopalachari deserves special mention in the context of this discussion. Perhaps no thinker in contemporary India has argued the case for minimum interference in personal life by the Government so logically and consistently as he. In a series of articles brought together in *Satyam Eva Jayate* (1961) he argues that it would be wise for the present generation in our country to limit the main activities of the Government

to the task of collecting taxes and preventing crimes of violence, fraud and exploitation. The reasons are fourfold :—

(*i*) In going beyond this field and trying to control the processes of production, for instance, the State is trying to do what it cannot do efficiently. 'The administrative machine as well as the political party that controls it are composed of men, who not only do not produce but do not have any experience or real knowledge of the processes of production..... It is forgotten that national production is comprised of individual production and that this is best furthered through that full and accurate knowledge and right judgement which follow from personal interest. The function of the State must be to prevent mutual conflict and injury and no more, certainly not to substitute itself for the individual.'[43]

(*ii*) Progress must mean only advance towards a desirable and laudable goal. 'The extinction of human dignity and individual freedom in order to "progress" vitiates the nature of progress itself. Progress achieved by losing self-direction (*swatantra*) and giving more and more, and finally all, direction to the State, is not progress.'[44]

(*iii*) Self-government essentially means self-reliance, self-restraint, self-discipline, self-denial, self-direction as contrasted with a system of government which places unlimited power in the State and its officials, to restrain, control and direct and hence compulsorily to enslave and regiment the individual.

(*iv*) Democracy cannot be justified and wealth will not increase unless the freedom of the individual citizen and his fundamental right to work, earn, keep and invest his earnings, according to his free judgement, is preserved. Otherwise democracy would be tyranny writ anew.

5 *THE INDIVIDUAL, THE COMMUNITY AND MANKIND*

We have reserved for the last section in this chapter Sri Aurobindo's ideas on the relation between the individual and the wider society as his views are the most balanced and integrated among Indian thinkers of the period and aptly sum up the discussion. In his essays entitled 'The Individual and the Community' (1914-21) and 'Social Evolution' (1915-18),[45] Sri Aurobindo sums up his views thus :—

It is incumbent on the individual to perfect his indivi-

duality by unhindered development from within, and to respect and to aid and be aided by the same free development in others. He has to adjust his life to that of the Community and to express himself fully in attempting to achieve perfection. The 'law' for the community or nation is similarly to perfect its corporate existence by a 'free development' from within, aiding and taking full advantage of the individual, but to respect and to aid and be aided by the same process of development in other communities and nations. Its 'law' is to harmonise its life with that of the world community and 'to pour itself out' as an instrument of growth and perfection among humanity. The 'law' for humanity is to pursue its evolution towards the discovery and expression of the Divine in the human species, taking full advantage of the 'free development' and achievements of all individuals and nations and groups of men, and to work towards the day when mankind may be really and not only ideally 'one divine family'. Even then, when it has succeeded in unifying itself, it has to respect, aid and be aided by the free growth and activity of its individuals and the groups they belong to.

The relation between law (recognized by the state) and liberty must be studied in the context of the general laws stated above. Nature does not impose a pattern or a rule from outside; she impels life to grow from within and to assert its own law and development modified only by the involvement with its environment. All liberty, individual, national, religious, social and ethical, is based on this fundamental principle of existence. By liberty we mean the freedom to obey the law of our being, to grow to our natural self-fulfilment with our environment. The dangers and disadvantages of our having this liberty, the disorder, strife, waste and confusion to which its wrong use leads, derive from the absence of any adequate sense of unity between one individual and another and one community and another. Each asserts itself at the other's expense instead of growing closer by giving mutual help, and each claims freedom for itself while in the act of encroaching on the freedom of fellows. If a real, a spiritual and psychological unity were achieved, liberty would not be threatened; for free individuals enamoured of unity would be compelled by themselves, by their own need, to accommodate perfectly their own ideas with those of their fellows and would not feel they had achieved their optimum condition except in conjunction with others subject to the same laws of human development. Because of human imperfection and the ignorance of mind and will, law and regimentation have to called in to restrain and to compel from outside. The

immediate advantages of a state law backed by compulsion are obvious, but equally great are the disadvantages. Such conformity as it succeeds in creating tends to be mechanical and even the order it imposes turns out to be artificial and liable to break down if the yoke is loosened or the control withdrawn. Carried too far, an imposed order discourages that natural growth which is the method by which life continues and may even destroy the capacity for real growth. We repress and overstandardise life at our peril; by overregimentation we crush natural initiative and the habit of intuitive self-adaptation. Dwarfed or robbed of flexibility, the devitalised individuality perishes from within even while it seems outwardly well balanced. Better anarchy than the long continuance of a law which is not our own or which our real nature cannot assimilate. An all-repressive or preventive law is only a makeshift, a substitute for the discipline which must develop from within the individual without inhibiting his personal liberty, and it becomes its outward image and visible form of expression. Human society progresses really and vitally in proportion to the extent to which law becomes the child of freedom; it will reach its perfection when man has learned to know and to identify spiritually with his fellow-men.

7

DEMOCRACY, FREEDOM AND EQUALITY

1 CONDITIONS FOR THE SUCCESSFUL WORKING OF DEMOCRACY

In the political thought of the period under survey, no single aspect is more striking than that the superiority of democracy to other forms of government is taken for granted. This is no doubt, in part, due to India's long association with Britain and the consequent opportunity for Indian thinkers to study British political institutions and political classics. But it is also noteworthy that there is no agreement among our thinkers as to what democracy precisely is. Gandhi meant by democracy 'the art and science of mobilising the entire physical, economic and spiritual resources of all the various sections of the people in the service of the common good of all' (1939).[1] Radhakrishnan, the distinguished philosopher, thinks that it is at once a political arrangement (adult suffrage), an economic approach (equal opportunities for all) and an ethical way of life (appeal to reason) (1960). 'Democracy means to me,' said Nehru in 1956, 'an attempt at the solution of problems by peaceful methods'.[2] M. Ruthnaswamy, in a Foreword he wrote to the present author's *Revision of Democracy* (1940), is clear that democracy is just government by the people. 'From Aristotle and the Greek States down to Lincoln and De Tocqueville and modern experience,' he says, 'democracy has been held to mean just government by the people—nothing less than that, but certainly nothing more.'[3] The present author believes that, technically, Ruthnaswamy is correct, though to be fair to thinkers who differ from him, it may be added that all agree that, as a minimum, democracy must mean government by the people. The differences among the thinkers arise from the inability or unwillingness of some to distinguish what is intrinsic to democracy from the conditions which enable democracy to work successfully. To that aspect we now turn.

Communitarian Democracy; Decentralization

Among the few thinkers who have systematically studied the

conditions under which democracy can work successfully an important place must be given to Jayaprakash Narayan. In a thoughtful paper by him published in 1959, 'Reconstruction of Indian Polity' he wrote, 'I propose in this paper to describe the main outlines of the polity which to my mind is not only most suited for us, but is also *most rational and scientific** with a brief statement of the reason for my views.'[4] Democracy is for him the most rational and scientific polity, but it must be remodelled and based on what he calls a communitarian society, and there must be decentralization. His reasons are two-fold: democracy in the West, he says, is in effect an elected oligarchy; it may, therefore, be called not democracy but democratic oligarchy. The participation of the common man in the governmental process is insignificant. Western democracy has a second serious weakness: it is based on an atomized society. Modern Western democracy, according to him, denies the social nature of man and the true nature of human society. This democracy conceives of society as an inorganic mass of separate individuals; the conception is that of an atomized society. The brick with which the present edifice of democratic polity is constructed is the individual voter and the whole process of democracy rests on the politics of vote-catching. The individual voter casts his vote as an atom of society, not as a living cell in organic relationship with other living cells. The institutions and processes of democracy express and represent the isolated individual rather than the individual sharing in social life as a member of the community.

What is the remedy ? Taking his cue from the organization of ancient Indian society in territorial (village) and occupational (*varna*) communities, he suggests that (*i*) there must be a bold policy of decentralization; there is far more of centralization in the modern State than is desirable; and (*ii*) society must be reorganized to make possible social integration and a sense of participation for the individual. 'In the true community there is communion, i.e. sharing, participation, fellowship..... there is identity of interest, a feeling of unity in the midst of diversity; a sense of freedom within the framework of accepted social responsibilities; differentiation of functions converging to the single goal of the good of the community and its members.

*italic mine

Caste, class, race, religion, politics—all these divide men into different, often conflicting groups. The community brings them together, unites them and harmonises their interests..... In the community there is understanding participation by the members in all communal affairs..... In its internal matters the community is self-regulating and self-determining.'[5]

Starting from these premises, Narayan would reconstruct society on a pyramidal basis: the village community at the base and above it regional, district, provincial and national communities, each one developing a community life and outlook, arising from the performance of functions felt as common to the whole community and thus promoting integration and participation in common life. It should be obvious, Narayan adds, that (*i*) as we proceed from the inner to the outer circles of communal life and organization, there is less and less for the outer communities to do; so that, when we reach the circle of the National Community, it has only a few matters to attend to, such as defence, foreign relations, currency, inter-state coordination and legislation; and (*ii*) such a social organization offers the utmost scope for the people, who are no longer an amorphous mass of human beings but organized in self-governing communities, to govern themselves. 'The communitarian polity that has been described above can alone guarantee the participating democracy which is our ideal and which should be the ideal of our democrats. It will only be in such a society that the individual will be able to save himself from the fate of robotism to which modern civilisation has condemned him and find freedom and self-significance as a member of the community.'[6]

The Moral Climate

Narayan enumerates the qualities and mental attitudes most needed for democracy as follows :—(1) concern for truth; (2) aversion to violence; (3) love of liberty and courage to resist oppression and tyranny; (4) spirit of co-operation; (5) preparedness to adjust self-interest to the larger interest of society; (6) respect for and tolerance of the opinions of others; (7) readiness to take responsibility; (8) belief in the fundamental equality of man; and (9) faith in the educability of human nature. In modern society, however, Narayan thinks that one more important moral attitude is necessary to work democracy successfully.

In his own words, 'democracy cannot co-exist with the insatiable hunger for more and more material goods that modern industrialism—capitalist, socialist or communist—has created. I believe that for man really to enjoy liberty and freedom and to practise self-government, it is necessary voluntarily to limit his wants. Otherwise, the greed for more and yet more will lead to mutual conflict, coercion, spoliation, war; and also to a system of production that will be so complex as to bind democracy hand and foot and deliver it to a bureaucratic oligarchy.'[7] It will be clear that, in stressing the limitation of wants as an essential condition of the success of democracy, Narayan is in the Gandhian tradition to which we have referred earlier.

Six other conditions are stressed by thinkers of the period as essential for the successful working of democracy: homogeneity of the population, non-violence, independent thinking among the citizens, proper leadership, the healthy working of voluntary organizations and economic equality. These may be taken up point by point.

Homogeneity of the population

Majority Government is one of the working principles of democracy; the minorities are expected to acquiesce in the decision of the majority. But it will be agreed that minorities will acquiesce in such decision only if they feel that every effort has been made to understand and meet their point of view. As Gandhi said in 1921, it will be the duty of the majority to see to it 'that the minorities receive a proper hearing' and 'the majority must tolerate and respect their opinion and action.'[8] This necessarily requires a give and take, a balancing of interests.

Where there are strong differences in the cultural outlook of different social groups and a 'sharing' of a common life by various sections of the people is absent or inadequate, it is difficult to secure such an atmosphere. This is the keynote of the criticism by Sir Syed Ahmad Khan, M. A. Jinnah and B.R. Ambedkar. Thus Sir Syed, in a speech in the Council of the Governor-General of India supporting the clause in a Local Self-Government Bill reserving to the Government the power of appointing one-third of the local boards and district councils, said: 'In a country like India, where caste distinctions still flourish, where there is no fusion of the various races, where religious distinctions are still violent..... I am convinced that the intro-

duction of the principle of election, pure and simple, for representation of various interests on the local boards and the district councils, would be attended with evils of greater significance than purely economic considerations..... The larger community would totally override the interests of the smaller community....'[9] M.A. Jinnah, in a speech at the Muslim University Union, Aligarh on 5 February 1938 said : 'There is an essential difference between the body-politic of this country and that of Britain. The majority and minority parties in Britain are alterable, their complexions and strengths often change..... But such is not the case with India. Here we have a permanent Hindu majority and the rest are minorities which cannot within any conceivable period of time hope to become majorities.'[10] B. R. Ambedkar states this point more clearly in his *Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables* (1943): 'It is wrong to suppose that the majority in all circumstances can be trusted to represent the will of all sections of people in the constituency. As a matter of fact it can never do so to any satisfactory degree. If at all, it can only give a very pale reflection of the general will and even that capacity for pale reflection must depend upon how numerous and varied are the interests which are consciously shared by the different sections of the constituency and how full and free is the interplay between them. It is obvious that where, as in India, there are no interests which are shared, where there is no full and free interplay and where there are no common cycles of participation for the different sections, one section large or small cannot represent the will of the other.'[11]

The arguments stated above are applicable in a still greater measure if one accepts the view put forward by V. Bhave in 1953 that unanimity is preferable to a majority decision: 'India's political experience finds its culmination in our unique institution of (the) Gram-Panchayat, which was based on the unanimity of 'the five', that is, all the members in the council. Whereas the present democracy is based on the principle of reaching a decision by a majority vote and so gives rise to what is called the problem of minorities. And this problem cannot be solved unless we adopt the principle of the unanimity among all persons of honesty and goodwill.'[12] Bhave holds the view that one can always find a core of common agreement which can serve as a basis for a common programme acceptable

to all. The differences 'should be discussed and debated, but not included in the programme of work.'[13]

Non-violence

Gandhi, in keeping with his general theory of a non-violent society, stated categorically in 1932 that 'the democracy of my conception is wholly inconsistent with the use of physical force for enforcing its will.'[14] In an article in 1939 he gave an important reason for this view. True democracy, he said, can never come through untruthful and violent means for the simple reason that the natural corollary to their use would be to remove all opposition through the suppression or extermination of the antagonists. 'That does not make for individual freedom. Individual freedom can have the fullest play only under a regime of unadulterated *ahimsa*.'[15]

Independent Thinking Among the Citizens

C. Rajagopalachari, among others, stresses the need for independent thinking among the citizens. 'What I plead for', he says in an article in *Swarajya* in 1958, 'is a climate of independent thinking among citizens. Without this essential accompaniment, self-government through democracy will prove itself to be a house of cards.'[16] He adds that independent thinking is necessary both among the governed as among the governors : 'Criticism and reply and counter-reply make for health in the air. Diseases of corruption and intrigue are by a process of natural hygiene driven out in such an atmosphere'[17]—a point which need not be laboured further.

Proper Leadership

Among the thinkers who deal with this important aspect of democracy, are Lajpat Rai (1865-1928), Rajendra Prasad (1884-1963) and C. Rajagopalachari (b. 1879) 'Should the leader lead or be led by the masses ?' asks Lajpat Rai in his *Call to Young India* (1920). His answer, which must be satisfying to most, is: remembering that in any programme we make, we must carry the masses along with us, and 'while it will be wrong on our part to allow our deliberate judgement to be overruled by the masses, it will be equally unwise and perhaps fatal to ignore them.'[18] Under ordinary circumstances, wise leadership involves understanding of the mass mind in a spirit of sympathy and respect; we must not lose the lead of the

people either by marching too far ahead of them, or by lagging behind. But there will be occasions when, majority or no majority, one has to go by the voice of one's conscience.

C. Rajagopalachari in an article in *Swarajya* (1962) is clear that the leader must lead, not follow, the mass. The greatest danger to democracy and therefore to civilization occurs, in his view, 'when the leaders of men, instead of leading, begin to be led by what they consider "the trend" of public opinion. The democratization of truth, if we may give a reasonable-looking name for this process of deterioration'[19] is something that must be resisted. Great is the need for men in public life who will speak the truth as they see it, whatever be the consequences.

Rajendra Prasad in an Address at Ajmer in 1951 touched on another hardly emphasized aspect of leadership : 'Leadership should be one that is inspired through and through by the ideal of the good of entire humanity and by the passion to serve all human beings.'[20] It should also 'not be a leadership which seeks to exploit the time and energy of the less fortunate and capable of their fellow-beings for the promotion of its own selfish interests'[21]—a necessary call to leaders not to be selfish or narrowly nationalistic in their great social task.

Healthy Activity of Voluntary Organizations

J. P. Narayan, to whose significant contribution we have referred earlier, also stresses the importance of voluntary organizations in the working of democracy. It should be remembered, he says in the essay already cited, that democracy does not consist merely in its formal institutions; it lives really and truly in the life of the people. It is not only through the representative assemblies and elected governments that democracy works, but in an equally true sense through the voluntary associations and actions of the citizens which they carry on and establish to deal with their problems and promote their interests. In thus stating his view, Narayan in effect echoes Laski's well-known emphasis on extensive voluntary activity as the test of the worth of a democracy.

Economic Equality

There is general agreement among our thinkers that an extreme disparity of incomes is not a situation conducive to

effective democracy. It will be sufficient to cite Nehru as representing this consensus of opinion. Speaking in Parliament in 1952, he said 'keeping in mind the ultimate aim of democratic thought, it is not enough that we should simply give our votes and leave everything else to look after itself. The ultimate aim is economic democracy. The ultimate aim is to put an end to the differences between the rich and the poor, between the people who have opportunities and those who have very few or none.'[22] He clarified his meaning in a speech at Bangalore in 1962: People, no doubt, are not equal in ability, in strength and in the capacity to work and go ahead faster. In any case, there is no justification for the great disparities of income as have existed in India to continue. Broadly, our objective is to establish a welfare State with a socialistic pattern of society with no great disparities of income and offering an equal opportunity to all.

2 ON THE EVILS OF PARTIES AND PARTY GOVERNMENT

The evils of the party system and party government, as linked to democracy, are now commonplace and our thinkers too are not oblivious of them. J. P. Narayan, for instance, recounts them thus: Party rivalries give birth to demagogy, depress political ethics, put a premium on unscrupulousness and aptitude for manipulation and intrigue. Parties create dissensions where unity is called for, exaggerate differences where they should be minimized. Parties often put party interests above the national interests. Because centralization of power prevents the citizen from participating in government, the parties, that is to say, small caucuses of politicians, rule in the name of the people and create the illusion of democracy and self-government.

What is the remedy?

Narayan's own solution, as we have pointed out earlier, is the concept of communitarian democracy. 'In the communitarian democracy that I have proposed here', he says, 'there may conceivably be parties, but they are likely to be local factions, and, in any case, their role in the State will not be as commanding as that of the parties in the parliamentary system.'[23]

C. Rajagopalachari's remedy is to some extent novel and worth careful examination. There are evils in party government, he points out in an essay written in 1961;[24] but party government is a necessary evil. It is necessary because political parties,

by opposing one another, keep watching and criticizing, so that good government and the wise decisions necessary for it may emerge. He suggests that we must seek to reduce the evils in two ways : firstly, by contracting the powers of the government in order to minimize its sphere of operations and consequent volume of favouritism and corruption ; and secondly, by the granting of freedom by the parties to their members to vote freely on any subject, according to the basic principles on which the party has been constituted. (The basic principles on which the Swatantra party was founded, for instance, were inferred from the fundamental rights granted in the Constitution of India to the individual, as, for example, the freedom to choose his occupation, the opportunity for competition by which man is induced to concentrate his energies, and the right of each citizen to possess and enjoy what he has lawfully earned). The freedom given by each party to its members to vote freely on matters outside the strict boundaries of its stated basic principles will give adequate opportunity for minority views to command consideration and acceptance on their own merits. Legislation and administration in most matters will not depend on party whips and on decisions of the majority within the party, but on the free vote of all the members in Parliament and in State legislatures. Debates will be free and frank and will help members to reach just decisions and will not be mere partisan speeches leading to nothing but what was previously settled, thus making the whole show a mere ritual.

Asoka Mehta (b.1911) develops the point that the tendency is growing for political parties to permeate other activities and organizations such as sports societies, trade-unions, students' organizations, co-operatives and cultural societies, and to use them for their own ends. Such a trend strengthens neither the political parties nor the organizations concerned. Party rivalry in constructive activities divides initiative, weakens efforts and saps enthusiasm. Besides, when constructive work such as the development of youth organizations and trade-unions, is taken up by political parties, this work is treated as subsidiary and the quality of its treatment suffers. Political divisions sharpen and political loyalties harden. In his *Politics of Planned Economy* (1953), Asoka Mehta suggests the adoption by every political party of a self-denying rule to keep rigorously

to its chosen field, viz. politics, and to refuse to encroach upon activities which are more properly the concern of voluntary organizations.

3 *CASTE AND DEMOCRACY*

Is caste (an institution peculiar to India) compatible with democracy ?

The question is clearly answered in the negative by K. M. Panikkar (1895-1963) in his *Caste and Democracy* (1933). Analysing caste as an institution, Panikkar finds it embodies three basic conceptions—inequality based on birth, gradation of professions and their inequality and restrictions on marriage outside one's own sub-group. Similarly, analysing democracy he finds that it is the organization of society in which political power is vested in the entire community; its basic conceptions are political equality (in which no inherent difference in status based on birth or possessions is acceptable) and equal opportunity for all; its main social tendency is to break down the barriers between groups and weld them progressively into larger communities.

From this analysis, Panikkar concludes that democracy and caste are totally opposed: the one is based on equality, the other on inequality of birth. The one is actuated by the principle of social inclusion, the other of social exclusion. Democracy tries to break down the barriers of class, caste seeks to perpetuate them.

B. R. Ambedkar in his *Thoughts on Linguistic States* (1955) follows Panikkar in his denunciation of caste, and adds that the caste system results in the perpetuation of a communal majority as distinct from the formation of flexible political majorities. A political majority is changeable in its class composition. Whereas political parties grow or decrease in membership and influence, communal groups determined by birth remain constant. Any member of a political majority is relatively free to make his own contribution to its political action whereas the course of politics among a communal majority is influenced only by those born into it.

It is interesting that Sri Aurobindo expresses a different view. This is based not on the rigid degenerate caste, which is the object of Panikkar's strictures, but on the flexible original caste as it was conceived by the ancient Hindus. In an article

published in the *Bande Mataram* (1907), he points out that caste was originally an arrangement for the distribution of functions in society with a spiritual object and a spiritual and moral basis. A man's caste depended on his *dharma*, his spiritual, moral and practical duties, and his *dharma* depended on his *swabhav*, his temperament and inborn nature. A brahmin was a brahmin not by mere birth, but because he discharged the duty of preserving the spiritual and intellectual elevation of the race, and he had to cultivate the spiritual temperament and acquire the spiritual training which alone could qualify him for the task. The kshatriya was a kshatriya not merely because he was the son of warriors and princes, but because he discharged the duty of protecting the country and preserving the high courage and manhood of the nation, and he had to cultivate the princely temperament and acquire the strong and lofty Samurai training which alone fitted him for his duties. So it was with the vaisya whose function was to amass wealth for the race and the sudra who discharged the humbler duties of service without which the other castes could not perform their share of labour for the common good. This was what we meant when we said that caste was a socialistic institution.'[25]

Briefly, the institution of caste was not based on birth or social exclusion. Sri Aurobindo points out instances where the lowest castemen were the teachers of the highest caste : 'the Chandala taught Sankaracharya.' Heredity did enter into caste divisions, but only as a subordinate element. Basically mobility and 'a part of the community existing for the good of all and not struggling for its own separate interests' were integral to caste, and therefore it was not as undemocratic and degenerate as it became in later days, in Sri Aurobindo's admission. It requires transformation according to Sri Aurobindo, and the genius who can transform it, preserving its original moral and spiritual purpose and mobility, to suit modern conditions, would do a great service to society.

4 FREEDOM

In an earlier part of this survey (Ch. VI) the ideas of our thinkers on the general aspects of the freedom of the individual have been discussed.

We have noted M. K. Gandhi's view that that government

is best which governs least ; in relation to democracy, it is interesting to add, he considered the reduction of State interference to a minimum to be a test of democracy. In an article written in 1935, he wrote: 'a nation that runs its affairs smoothly and effectively without much state interference is truly democratic. Where such a condition is absent, the form of government is democratic in name.'[26]

Has the individual the right of satyagraha in a democracy, i.e. of non-violent resistance to a law or executive action which in the satyagrahi's judgement is unjust ?

In *Young India* (1939), Gandhi expressed the view that 'democracy comes naturally to him who is habituated normally to yield willing obedience to all laws human or divine', but the right of civil disobedience as a last resort cannot be taken away from the individual, provided 'you think not in terms of self or party but only of democracy' and provided 'your opinions voice your innermost convictions.'[27] Gandhi's later view on the subject (17 September 1947), which is not so well known as it deserves to be, takes note of the prevailing practice among democracies. He was presenting not his own way of non-violence much as he would like to. He knew that he was out of court today. He suggested the adoption of the path that all democratic nations had adopted.

'In a democracy the individual will was governed and limited by the social will which was the State, which was governed by and for democracy. If every individual took the law into his own hands there was no State, it became anarchy, i.e., absence of social law or State. That way lay destruction of liberty. Therefore, they should subdue their anger and let the State secure justice.'[28]

B. R. Ambedkar, in a speech in the Indian Constituent Assembly, took the view that there was no justification for civil disobedience, non-co-operation and satyagraha in a democracy; they might have had some use when, under foreign rule, there was no way left for constitutional methods for achieving economic and social objectives, but when constitutional methods are open there can be no justification for these methods. 'These methods are nothing but the grammar of anarchy and the sooner they are abandoned the better for us.' Much the same view is taken by C. Rajagopalachari in his Convocation Address at Banaras

in 1948: 'The movement of non-co-operation involved the disregard of a law and authority that had been imposed by a foreign government and it has left behind an unhealthy habit. We have to take concerted and determined action to get rid of the tendency. We must restore the unqualified reverence for the State that was cultivated by our ancients.'[29] Mr. Dhebar takes the view that since, under democracy, people enjoy the right to throw out the Government if it is inefficient or tyrannical, resort to satyagraha became superfluous. He wrote in the *Times of India* (1955): 'In the context of democracy or democratically run institutions, there is generally speaking very little occasion for satyagraha. In the first instance even if a person fails to convert his opponents, there is the machinery of the election, and the election finally settles for an organization as between who is right and who is wrong.'[30]

K. G. Mashruwala (1949), M. P. Desai (1954) and J. B. Kripalani (1954) repudiated this view and held that as 'the governmental power is ever on the increase and the holders of power are not always wise or right', the denial of the right of satyagraha would mean 'unresisting submission to tyranny for long stretches of time',[31] since elections are normally held once in five years in India.

Perhaps G. B. Pant expresses the general consensus when he wrote (in the *Harijan* in 1952) that it would, no doubt, be a matter of conscience if one were forced to offer satyagraha in a case where the issues are clear and the government's stand is patently untenable and where before any recourse to satyagraha the *pros* and *cons* have been examined in an impersonal, detached and dispassionate manner and all other remedies have been exhausted. But at the same time he warns us that, in the midst of political partisanship, very few are likely to act according to the standards required of satyagraha, and therefore while in theory the right cannot be taken away, in practice 'considering everything, it seems undesirable that law should be defied over public issues which involve questions of truth, untruth or conscience.'[32] An exceptional person like Gandhi may defy law ; but for ordinary mortals it is better that the right is rarely exercised. Perhaps what Burke said would aptly summarize this view : the right to resist is the medicine of the constitution, not its daily bread.

5 *THE CONCEPT OF EQUALITY*

Some attention may now be devoted to our thinkers' contributions, if any, to the concept of equality (apart from their ideas on economic equality already discussed elsewhere in this survey), which together with the concept of liberty form the bedrock of democracy.

R. M. Lohia (b. 1910) begins his essay 'The Meaning of Equality' (1956) thus : 'The case for equality has not before been stated comprehensively. In other words, the complete meaning of equality has not been adequately investigated.' His own analysis of equality stresses its 'inward and outward as well as spiritual and material' aspects. 'Equality must.....be grasped in all its four meanings. Material equality must mean the outward approximation among nations as well as the inward approximation within the nation. Spiritual equality must mean outward kinship as much as it means inward equanimity. Only an integrated concept of these four meanings of equanimity, kinship and material equality within the nation and among nations is worthy to become a supreme aim of life and its purpose.'[33] Material equality within the nation and among nations are fairly commonplace notions and there is no need to elaborate Lohia's ideas in regard to them. Lohia's general analysis of equality is, in the present writer's view, notable for its emphasis on three aspects :—

(*i*) It emphasizes the need for convergence of what Lohia terms 'the concrete and the abstract'.[34] As an abstract concept and generalization, equality can only mean an atmosphere, an emotion and perhaps also a wish that all arrangements, political, social or economic shall be equal as between one individual and another; when translated into concrete terms like equality before the law, equality in the allocation of food subsidies, a servant possessing a house, children's allowance, unemployment allowance, old-age pension and the like, it has a meaning for the individual and for society. 'All talk of equality as a general concept without a concrete meaning that accompanies it is either hypocrisy or lethargy of the mind.'[35]

(*ii*) A spiritual and emotional kinship, the joy of being one with the universe, has to be sensed by every one if equality is to be made possible. But, just as within the family the sense of kinship is nurtured on a basis of total material equality (every

one in a normal family sharing, according to his need, the food and the clothing available, for example), so too in the world at large steps must be taken to eradicate the glaring inequalities in standards of living between nations. 'In the midst of the widespread poverty and misery of backward countries, it (the conscience) would not know how to survive the strains of universal kinship'.[36]

(*iii*) 'Man must strive to feel an inward equality between contrary conditions of pleasure and pain, heat and cold, victory and defeat'.[37] This is clearly the influence of ancient Indian tradition on social thinking, for Lohia adds: 'The ancients in India seemed to have sensed that inward equanimity and outward equality were two sides of the same coin.'[38]

Space must be found here to refer to Vinoba Bhave, who has, in his speeches and writings, expressed the inarticulate major premises of the thinking of the common man. 'I do not want arithmetical equality', he said at a conference at Mathura in 1951; 'but I do want equity or such equality as, for instance, the five fingers of the hand have.'[39] These five fingers are not equal in dimensions, but they all work in full co-operation and together perform innumerable tasks. 'Again, their inequality is not as disproportionate as it would be if, say, the smallest finger were an inch in length, while the largest one was a foot. The moral is that even if there cannot be absolute equality, there should also not be disproportionate inequality, but there should be equality even through their inequality.'[40] Elsewhere, Vinoba Bhave calls such equality discriminative equality, i.e. equality tempered with discrimination. 'The mother does not distribute food among her children on the basis of mathematical equality. To the youngest one she gives only milk, to the next some milk and some bread, and to the grown-ups only bread. In the same way, in society also we will exercise discrimination and take into account the intensity of hunger and the power of digestion of each in the distribution of food. Where equality is brought about by force, all are compelled to conform to the same pattern. We are totally against this kind of regimentation. We aim at spiritual equality based on discrimination.'[41]

8

SOCIALISM, COMMUNISM AND SARVODAYA

INTRODUCTORY

It is remarkable that no two of our thinkers agree on what precisely socialism is. S. C. Bose writes in 1931 that socialism, justice, equality, freedom, discipline and love constitute the essence of socialism. Equality is the essence of socialism, according to Gandhi. 'Socialism is a beautiful word', writes Gandhi in 1947, 'and, so far as I am aware, in socialism all the members of society are equal—none low, none high. In the individual body the head is not high because it is the top of the body, nor are the soles of the feet low because they touch the earth. Even as members of the individual body are equal, so are the members of society. This is socialism.'[1] According to J. P. Narayan, voluntary subordination of one's interest to the larger interest of society is the keynote of socialism. 'I would like to define a socialist society', he writes in 1956, 'as one in which the individual is prepared *voluntarily* to subordinate his own interest to the larger interest of society.'[2] Nehru would not like to define socialism in precise and rigid terms. He told the All India Congress Committee in 1957: 'what I want is that all individuals in India should have equal opportunities of growth, from birth upwards, and equal opportunities for work according to their capacity.'[3]

Two reasons may explain this amazing divergence of views on the content of a basic concept like socialism: all the world over, socialism has the reputation of being like a hat that loses its shape when worn by several people. Did not Asoka Mehta say in 1959: 'Socialism needs to be viewed as a house of many mansions. It may be that men will choose different mansions according to their taste and temperament.'[4] Secondly, in dependent India potential freedom and democracy were the first concern of the thinking *elite* and socialism had not received due attention. Lajpat Rai wrote in his *Call to Young India* (1920): 'We do not understand socialism. We have never studied it. We do not go by dogmas and doctrines.'[5] Nehru notes in his *Toward Freedom*: 'A vague confused socialism was already part of the atmosphere of India when I returned from Europe in

December 1927..... Mostly they thought along utopian lines.'[6] It is interesting, but quite natural, that on the eve of India's attainment of independence and after India became independent in 1947, increasing attention began to be devoted to scientific socialism, as a free society needed an attractive political and economic philosophy, at any rate to provide a direction for social efforts. It is not an accident, then, that the three basic contributions on socialism from Indian thinkers, viz. *Socialism and the National Revolution* (1946) by Narendra Deva, *The Doctrinal Foundation of Socialism* (1952) by R. M. Lohia and *The Ideological Problems of Socialism* (1953) by J. P. Narayan appeared on the eve of, or soon after, India's independence. In what follows, we shall first analyse the ideas of R. M. Lohia on the theory of socialism, discuss the ideas of J. P. Narayan, J. Nehru and P. B. Gajendragadkar, outline the criticisms of socialism and communism more especially by M. K. Gandhi, Vinoba Bhave and C. Rajagopalachari and finally note the salient points about sarvodaya, the new thinking on a just social order developed by Vinoba Bhave and those of his persuasion.

1 THE DOCTRINAL FOUNDATION OF SOCIALISM

In his thought-provoking essay *The Doctrinal Foundation of Socialism* (1952), R. M. Lohia develops the idea that the concept of socialism has too long lagged 'behind the cohorts of capitalism or of communism' and has lived 'on borrowed breath', leading to hesitancy in the action of socialists and that it must be developed, if it is to have an effective appeal, into a doctrine independent of other political ideologies. From communism it has borrowed its economic aim (the establishment of social ownership over existing means of production, their further development and mass production and some kind of a planned economy), and from capitalism, its non-economic and general aim (the preservation of national freedom, democracy and human rights and the securing of peace). 'There must be', he says, 'adequate doctrinal foundation of consistent logic that gives socialism an autonomous direction in thought and action.' To explore once again the economic and the general aims of society and to integrate them harmoniously should be, according to him, an immediate endeavour of socialist doctrine.

And what is Lohia's own thinking on the autonomous socialist doctrine ?

Capitalism and communism are but two parts of the single complex of existing civilization, whose main features are the hunger for rising living standards to be achieved by the use of dynamic technology and large-scale production. Such technology hangs in limbo between the terrifying poverty of two-thirds of the world's population, and the perpetual tensions, fear, and hate that derive from it and which are accompanied by the arms race. Capitalism depends upon a free enterprise economy for ever-rising standards of living; communism, upon social ownership of the means of production.

But they are alike in that the hunger for rising standards of living and the use of technology for large-scale production are the moving forces in both; the only difference is that communism alters the relations of employers and employees to the processes of production. The theory of socialism, as it is, 'operates on the hypothesis that on the economic life of planning and mass production and rising standards can be grafted the general aims of society through an effort of the will; all that needs to be done is sanction* to the charter of human rights, to democratic representation and workers' control and generally the worth of human personality.'[7]

To establish a satisfying theory of socialism for the underdeveloped countries, in Lohia's view, the economic and the general aims of both capitalism and communism are equally irrelevant. From this he develops his theory of equal irrelevance. Firstly, the underdeveloped countries of the world cannot provide the capital necessary for them to imitate the system of mass production adopted by both capitalism and communism. An approximate calculation made by him shows that some Rs. 300,000 crores ($ 430,000 millions) would have to be invested for the purpose, which it is absurd, in his view, to contemplate. Secondly, neither capitalism nor communism has been able to integrate the general aims of peace and freedom with the economic aim of ever-rising standards of living. Both seemed to Lohia equally irrelevant to underdeveloped countries where average livingstandards were so low and the opportunities

*i.e. enforce the achievement of quick results.

for raising them so rare that concepts such as 'ever rising standards of living' cannot have a recognizable meaning for the people of these countries.

Positively, Lohia suggests that a new mode of rationalization and a corresponding mode of ownership will have to be devised. 'The small-unit machine run by electricity or oil is the answer.....This machine shall be available to hamlet and town as much as to city; it may be a maid-of-all-work or as many kinds as possible; it shall be built on the principle of immediacy in operation and output; it shall not require a large capital investment. Such a machine is the embodiment of the whole principle of decentralization, in space and in time, so as to avoid complexity and achieve immediacy. This machine will not only solve the economic problem of the underdeveloped world; it will also enable a new exploration and achievement of the general aims of society. This is not to deny altogether the heavier machine in steel works or in river-training projects but emphasis must heavily rest on the small-unit machine.'[8]

Further, this 'immediacy' in science and planning must be matched with 'immediacy' in production and political control. Private property must, of course, go except when this does not involve the employment of one person by another. When all property is nationalized, the state will resort to mass, i.e. large-scale, production. Since state management may not be very efficient, it may result in reduced production. State controls may reduce the freedom of the producers. Property of certain types must be owned by the village and the province as much as by the Centre and co-operatives. Socialism must be decentralized and must evolve on a regional basis through the application of technology and the exercise of political power in response to local conditions. This is the autonomous direction, in which, according to Lohia, socialism must evolve. In his *Aspects of Social Policy*[9] Lohia talks of a 'Four Pillar State' in which village, district, province and centre all have defined functions and are integrated in a system of 'functional federalism' in the Gandhian tradition. The theory of socialism as developed above will, Lohia thinks, cater for the provision of bread (the economic aim) and the achievement of freedom (the general aim).

In the essay cited above, R. M. Lohia also devotes some

attention to the appropriate forms of action through which this doctrine may be implemented. Constructive action, supplemented by peaceful resistance to injustice, is the 'appropriate form of action' suggested by him. The ballot based on universal adult suffrage is a necessary instrument in electioneering but alone it is an inadequate safeguard of socialist objectives.

> 'The organization of the people's will is of primary importance and its expression through the vote or revolt or other appropriate forms is a secondary question of passing value. The party of socialism must have power and organization enough so that it can use them in the service of whatever action may be deemed appropriate at the time. In order that such power and organization may be built up, the party of socialism should continually strive to become a spokesman of the people, organizer of its will, resister against injustice, and accomplisher of reconstructions. It must be ready ever to take part in constructive action, to enlighten the popular verdict and be enlightened by it in turn, and to resist injustice: three modes of action already symbolised by the spade, the vote and the prison. Resistance to injustice through peaceful methods, satyagraha, is necessary. Socialism must ever denounce the advocacy and organization of violence, though, as a last resort, the people may well choose to exercise their majesty of power so as to end the agony of the old and give birth to the new. This will be spontaneous violence of the people displayed only for a brief moment.'[10]

2 *DEMOCRATIC SOCIALISM*

J. P. Narayan on the Essentials of a Socialist Society

It will be clear from the above that Lohia attempts to provide an original doctrinal foundation to democratic socialism as distinct from revolutionary socialism. J. P. Narayan in his 'Democratic Socialism : The Ideal and the Method' (1950), 'The Ideological Problems of Socialism' (1953) and 'New Dynamics of Social Change' (1956)[11] argues that the forces of democracy have gathered ground since Marx developed his theory of revolutionary socialism; in fact Marx himself had, in his famous address at the Hague (1872), admitted the possibility of a peaceful transition to socialism in favourable situations. Holding the view that democratic socialism is preferable to revolutionary socialism, Narayan makes a number of suggestions for the solution of society's basic problems by means of socialism.

(*i*) A Socialist state must aspire to certain basic values;

amoralism is to be shunned. If our present action is in consonance with the ideals that we have before us, Narayan argues, there is no reason to doubt where we would ultimately land ourselves. For there is some rational ground for assuming that if our present action squares with the noble ideals that we have before us, then ultimately it is bound to take us there. If, on the other hand we indulge in activities which contradict these ideals, these values on which the new society will ultimately be based, there is no rational ground for supposing that we will by some dialectical contrivance ultimately arrive at that goal.

(*ii*) A decentralized State is essential to make socialism realistic from the political point of view: this is 'the only possible means of translating socialism into people's rule at the lowest level'.[12] Narayan's ideas on the decentralized state have been indicated in Chapter VII above.

(*iii*) Regarding the economic structure of a socialist society, nationalization of industry alone does not achieve equality of wages and workers' control as socialism postulates; experience shows, Narayan says, that nationalization leads to bureaucratization. The structure of a socialist economy in most of the Asian countries has to be a dispersed structure, a structure based not on concentrated, mass-producing manufacture but on manufacture dispersed throughout the country in homes and small towns. The principle of dispersal must apply not only to economic structure, but to ownership, 'dispersal of the ownership at different levels, instead of concentrated ownership in the hands of the central government, dispersed ownership at various levels down to the co-operative, down to the village organisation or municipal corporation.'[13] Narayan's suggestions on decentralization of economic power (recalling Lohia's ideas) are meant also to provide a guarantee that economic power will not be concentrated in the hands of a small group of persons and to ensure that socialist society is not controlled by an economic dictatorship.

(*iv*) There is no question that peaceful democratic means must be used to achieve the aim of a socialist society. 'When I speak of democratic methods', Narayan adds, 'let me make it clear that I am not speaking only of parliamentary methods, of constitutional methods. I am also thinking in terms of vital, large, mass movements, mass action of a non-violent character, unconstitutional but at the same time peaceful. If we are working

with the sanction of the people behind us, if we have achieved contact with the hearts of the people, if we have got their backing, there is no reason why it should not be possible for us to move the masses into such peaceful activity.'[14] The lurking suspicion in the minds of some 'that democratic methods might take us forward to a certain extent, but at the last stage violence will be necessary, that without violence the socialist revolution would not be complete'[15] (this is an obvious reference to Lohia's ideas[16]) must, he felt, be removed, for had not Gandhi taught that inappropriate means will not achieve the attainment of the desired ends ?

(*v*) Lastly an important condition of the success of socialism is that the individual must learn to restrict his desires: equality, freedom and fellowship can never become realities unless the individual is voluntarily prepared to limit his material demands and his freedom in the interests of his fellow human beings. A socialist society cannot be built up if every individual wants and hankers after more and more for himself. Unless the individual learns the lesson of self-control and adopts a way of life based on such control, strife between man and man and between groups, classes and nations of men, is bound to continue.

Nehru's Pragmatism

Deeply touched by the poverty of India and keenly aware of the possibility of removing it by harnessing the resources of science and technology to production, Nehru accepted socialism as a philosophy of life and had the socialistic pattern of society adopted as the ideal of India by the Indian Parliament. It is interesting that in the thirties, Nehru believed in scientific socialism; but after he came into contact with practical problems of administration as Prime Minister, he became a pragmatist; he refused to force any system of ideas to its logical conclusion. In an Address to the Indian Chemical Manufacturers' Association at New Delhi on 26 December 1950, he said, 'There are in this world various policies, ideologies and theories. I suppose there is some truth in each of them. However, my personal feeling is that while it is very important to have a theory as the logical basis of our thought, it is not reasonable to apply it by force to all conditions. We can use a theory for the purposes of argument and for testing its validity. In practice, however,

you have to take the facts of the situation and adapt either yourself or your theory accordingly.'[17]

Nehru's pragmatic approach and his conception of democratic socialism are clearly indicated in two Addresses by him to (1) the business community on 4 March 1949 and (2) the All India Congress Committee on 4 January 1957. He said that the method which delivered the goods and gave satisfaction to the masses would justify itself. In many countries of the world, the old-style capitalism, he said, was being modified towards democratic socialism. There was no need to have a rigid definition of socialism, but, in his view, democratic socialism meant at least three things : the substitution of co-operation in place of acquisitiveness, equal opportunities for development of personality for every one, and the democratic process of peaceful and legitimate methods to achieve these two goals. 'I am not enamoured of these 'isms', he said, 'and my approach is, and I should like to say the country's approach should be, rather a pragmatic approach in considering the problem and I want to forget the 'ism' attached to it. Our problem today is to raise the standard of the masses, supply them with their needs, give them the wherewithal to lead a decent life, and help them to progress and advance in life..... I should like to set them on the right road and I do not care what 'ism' it is that helps me to set them on that road, provided I do it.'[18]

Democratic Socialism and Modern Liberalism

It is interesting to note that according to Gajendragadkar, Chief Justice of India from 1964 to 1966, democratic socialism 'which succinctly and pithily expresses the socio-economic content of the concept of a democratic welfare state is based on a social philosophy which may be aptly described as modern liberalism.'[19] This new doctrine of modern liberalism does not concentrate exclusively or blindly on the urgent problem of poverty and economic imbalance which so patently exists in the contemporary social structure. Its main postulate is that individual life should show preference for social obligations. Besides, it seeks to release the individual citizen's minds from the restraints of authoritarianism and fanaticism; believes in reason and is prepared to enter into an intellectual dialogue with those who are opposed to its ways and means; and while believing in

the progress of the human race, it is conscious also that the ideal of socio-economic justice can be attained only if sustained and dedicated efforts are made to that end (especially by planning), not otherwise. 'Incessant search for social truth and unceasing effort to adopt ways and means to attain socio-economic justice consistently with the liberty and freedom of the individual are the main principles which guide modern liberal thought.'[20] Gajendragadkar's apt linking of democratic socialism with modern liberalism emphasizes, as we must emphasize, the peaceful and persuasive methods of achieving social justice which socialism seeks to achieve.

3 *COMMUNISM*

Has there been any *Indian* thinking on communism ? The answer has to be in the negative. Ever since the establishment of the Communist Party of India in 1920, its leaders followed the international communist line in formulating communist ideology and strategy. Two leading authorities on the subject are clear on this. G. D. Overstreet and M. Windmiller in their superb study *Communism in India* (1959) are clear that 'the goals of Indian communism have always been conditioned by the goals of the international communist movement'; and J. H. Kautsky writes in his authoritative book, *Moscow and the Communist Party of India* (1956) : 'The evolution of CPI strategy, as we have traced it, demonstrates beyond doubt that the Party's policy in the postwar years has been, as it was before the war, ultimately determined by Moscow's desires.'

It will be remembered that in the original Marxist thesis as embodied in the Communist Manifesto (1948), it was a cardinal principle that the overthrow of the exploiting classes can be accomplished only by a violent struggle. The Communist Party of India in its platform (December 1930) adopted this principle. 'The Communist Party declares that the road to victory is not the method of individual terror but the struggle and the revolutionary armed insurrection of the widest possible masses of the working class, the peasantry, the poor of the towns and the Indian soldiers, around the banner and under the leadership of the Communist Party of India.'[21] The Party's policy statement of 1951 declared : 'The main question is not whether there is to be armed struggle or not, the main question is not whether

to be non-violent or violent. It is the reactionary ruling classes who resort to force and violence against the people and who pose for us the question whether our creed is violence or non-violence.....Marxism and history have once and for all decided the question for the Party and the people of every country in the world long ago. All action of the masses in defence of their interests to achieve their liberation is sacrosanct. History sanctions all that the people decide to do to clear the lumber-load of decadence and reaction in their path to progress and freedom' (Statement of policy of the Communist Party of India, 1951, p. 7).

The revised Party Constitution adopted in 1958, two years after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (1956) had declared that socialism could be achieved also by peaceful means, states that the CPI 'strives to achieve full democracy and socialism by peaceful means.' The Editorial in the *New Age* (organ of the Party) in its issue of January 1958 said : 'The decisive changes in the balance of forces in the international sphere and the powerful growth of the ideas of socialism among working people and progressive sections all over the world create vast possibilities and favourable conditions in many countries for the victory of socialism through peaceful methods in ways different in several respects from those which had to be adopted in the past.'[22] This is sufficient evidence to substantiate the statement we have made above that there has hardly been any Indian thinking on communism. A pithy answer given by Vinoba Bhave to a question put to him in 1953 brings out the point admirably.

Q. What do you think of the Indian communists ?

A. It is a complete misnomer to call them communists..... the communists in India are mere propagandists..... If Russia changes its line of action, they do likewise. They have no independent intelligence of their own.[23]

Perhaps the only exception to this is an attempted reinterpretation (of doubtful validity) of Marx's materialistic conception of history by Narendra Deva (1889-1956), who was not a communist. In his Presidential Address to the First Session of the All India Congress Socialist conference (1934) he said :

> The 'materialistic conception of history' which is a very important contribution of Marx has been misunderstood.

Owing to the use of the word 'materialistic' in the expression it has often been thought that scientific socialism as propounded by Marx must be a materialistic doctrine. People say that Marx has denied the existence of mind, that he had no respect for spiritual values and that he did not recognise the force of ideas. It is said that Marx recognised only the supremacy of matter and regarded it as the only factor in the evolution of history. All these statements are incorrect. Marx recognises both mind and matter as formative forces in history. He regards man as an active agent who consciously shapes history. The determining power of man is fully recognised in his system, but according to him the mind of man acts on a given objective situation, which sets the limits within which it can act. Economic motives play a predominant part in history, but it does not mean that there are no other causes at work. All that Marx means to say is that an idea can influence the course of history only when it realises itself in fact and thus becomes a thing. He has nowhere considered the question of the relative importance of mind and matter. Both are equally important. Man cannot create anything independently of the objective situation nor can a given objective situation by itself produce a result desired by man without his active participation. He only used the expression to distinguish his method from the idealism of Hegel who denied the reality of the world of experience and only recognised one Absolute Idea.

Marx does hold that many causes operate in the evolution of history. Legal and political systems, though derived from the methods of production, subsequently become independent forces in themselves with a power to influence the course of history. Marx has always held that what was originally derivative had the power of becoming an independent cause. Therefore, it is wrong to say that Marx recognised only one single cause of historical evolution.'[24]

There is no space in this short survey to examine the interpretation; it is sufficient to say that it has not had universal acceptance.

4 CRITICS OF SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

In their essentials, the criticisms by Indian thinkers of socialism and communism are not very different from those by thinkers elsewhere in the world, though the emphasis may differ here and there, and though occasionally an Indian touch is introduced

by reference to Indian traditions and Indian experience of socialist measures introduced by Government during the last few years. After all, these theories have been there for decades, and it would perhaps be difficult to tread fresh ground.

Socialism and communism of the West are based, according to Gandhi, on their belief in the essential selfishness of human nature. Gandhi, we have already noted, did not subscribe to that view. Further, in keeping with his general views on society, namely that truth and non-violence are the basis of a good society, Gandhi quite naturally could not reconcile himself to the use of violence inherent in the theory of communism. Nothing enduring can be built on violence; so communism cannot be approved. With this view Nehru agreed. 'Communism became too closely associated with the necessity for violence', says he in his essay 'Basic Approach' (1958) 'and the idea which it placed before the world became a tainted one. Means distorted ends.'[25] Besides, Gandhi did not approve of its basic idea of class war. In his reply to a correspondent in 1945, Gandhi clarified his view on the class war: he knew that class struggles existed; 'what I do not believe in', he said, 'is the necessity of fomenting and keeping it up. I entertain a growing belief that it is perfectly possible to avoid it.'[26] Class war is not inevitable, if the doctrine of trusteeship—already dealt with in earlier pages—is accepted and implemented. Besides, communism leads to the loss of individuality. Nehru agreed with this criticism of communism and could not reconcile himself to 'the suppression of individual freedom'[27] under communism.

We have dealt earlier with Gandhi's views on non-possession, bread, labour and equality. It need not be added that Gandhi was in complete agreement with the ideal of a classless society which communism preached. He wrote in the *Harijan* in 1937 : Communism means in the last analysis 'a classless society—an ideal that is worth striving for.'[28] Only, as indicated earlier, Gandhi would not agree with the means suggested by communism to realize the ideal. Gandhi's own method was 'conversion', not compulsion.

If Gandhi was, clearly, opposed to communism, was he favourable to, say, democratic socialism ? Here, again, the answer must be in the negative. Two statements made by him make this clear beyond doubt. He wrote in *Young India* in

1929 : 'The idea I want to realize is not spoliation of the property of private owners, but to restrict its enjoyment so as to avoid all pauperism, consequent discontent and the hideously ugly contrast that exists today between the lives and surroundings of the rich and the poor.'[29] Again in 1946, in answer to a question, he said : 'The socialists and communists say they can do nothing to bring about the economic equality today. They..... believe in generating and accentuating hatred. They say, when they get control over the State, they will enforce equality. Under my plan, the State will be there to carry out the will of the people, not to dictate to them or to force them to do its will. I shall bring about economic equality through non-violence, by converting the people to my point of view, by harnessing the forces of love as against hatred.'[30]

Among the critics of socialism, Rajagopalachari must be given a high place for his clarity and logic. In a series of articles (1958-62), and, earlier, in an Address to the Benares Hindu University (1948), he pointed out the basic defects of socialism as he saw them :

(*i*) Class struggle, the foundation of the socialist analysis, is no solution for unjust distribution, for 'class struggle means hatred, a fouling of the atmosphere, unhappiness for all and submission to the crudest type of tyranny at the end.'[31]

(*ii*) Self-alienation, i.e., men selling themselves to the State, is a great potential danger of socialism.

(*iii*) There are no rights in the socialist countries except for those who agree with the dictatorial rule of a minority in control.

(*iv*) Management of business by State officials is notoriously inefficient.

(*v*) Nepotism and corruption thrive in such conditions as under the Congress regime with its declared aim of a socialistic pattern of society.

(*vi*) We shall be substituting indifference for the vigilance born of personal interest, substituting the irresponsibility of monopoly for the eager interest that goes with private ownership, competition and profit motive. 'The entire ideology of socialism is based on a huge fallacy that creative energy can be isolated from personal interest.'[32]

(*vii*) If the economic life of the people and of every one of the

individuals composing them must be under complete regulation, the rulers will easily see that they must obtain willing obedience to such regulation and this will lead to a totalitarian control of freedom of thought or of culture in a State which is run on the theory of complete economic state-control of the citizen's life.

Rajagopalachari's own remedy is to leave to private ownership the business of production, for experience has shown that there is no greater incentive than private ownership to stimulate work and production. What the State should do is to watch, control and regulate production and distribution in order to prevent exploitation; by entering business it will be depriving itself of its governmental function.

Vinoba Bhave thinks that communism is not related to Indian traditions. Eradication of poverty is the best antidote to communism. Conflict leads to even more conflict ; ultimately, only a change of heart on the part of a large proportion of the population can bring about permanent change in the redistribution of wealth.

5 *SARVODAYA*

Earlier in our survey, we had occasion to touch on sarvodaya, 'the welfare of all', as a preferred social aim to the utilitarian conception of the greatest happiness of the greatest number. It is interesting that the concept of sarvodaya, in recent discussions, more especially by J. P. Narayan and Vinoba Bhave, has been used also to describe a social philosophy and an ideal social order* which will realize the welfare of all.

Sarvodaya is defined by J. P. Narayan as people's socialism. The remedy for social ills, according to J. P. Narayan, is 'to create and develop forms of socialist living through the voluntary endeavour of the people rather than to seek to establish socialism

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*e.g. Jaya Prakash Narayan calls his booklets *A Picture of Sarvodaya Social Order* (Akhil Bharat Sarva Seva Sangha, Tanjore, 1955). We must add that J. P. Narayan had in 1954 decided to withdraw from party-and-power politics to devote himself to sarvodaya work.

We must add also that after Gandhi's death in 1948 his close associates and disciples formed the Sarva Seva Sangh (the Association devoted to the service of the people) and endorsed a programme which was published on 30 January 1950 as the Sarvodaya Plan. The members are pledged not to seek any positions of political power such as those of Ministers and of members of the Legislature but to devote themselves to the service of the people by constructive work on Gandhian lines.

by the use of the power of the State.'[33] All the elements in this social philosophy are not clear, as it is still an evolving concept, but six elements may be fairly clearly distinguished :—

(*i*) Love, not hatred, is the basis of social life. Human nature is capable of love, and all the hatred that exists is an offshoot of the social environments in which man lives and works. The theory of class war, which is the basis of scientific socialism, cannot, therefore, be accepted. Through people's efforts, the social environment can be radically changed, and co-operation substituted in place of conflict.

(*ii*) Non-violence is the means to achieve the end. The inspiration provided by Gandhi's ideas will be noticed both in the first and in this, the second, element. The possibility of converting the individual to a selfless way of life, in which his wants are limited and equality is accepted as a way of life by means of education and the example of devoted workers, is implicit in sarvodaya.

(*iii*) The State should intervene in the lives of individuals as little as possible. 'I was, and am, not sure if the State would ever wither away completely,' writes Narayan in his essay 'From Socialism to Sarvodaya' (1957). 'But I am sure that it is one of the noblest goals of social endeavour to ensure that the powers and functions and spheres of the State are reduced as far as possible.'[34] With Gandhi, Narayan and Bhave believe that that government is best which governs least. One fundamental reason for the distrust of the State is that the State depends, in the last resort, upon its authority to use force to carry out social reforms. They believe that nothing of permanent value can result from the enforcement of social reform. Social harmony can only result from a disciplined selfless way of life in which the individual believes and which he practises. It cannot be achieved by compulsion from the State. *Janshakthi*, the power of the masses, is to be developed to enable the people to be self-reliant. It will be seen that this view is diametrically opposed to the views of the communists and socialists to whom it is clear that political power is an essential factor in the struggle for socio-economic transformation. The latter believe that the landlords, capitalists and other exploiting classes will not as a class willingly subject themselves to the desired social transformation. For communists and socialists such change depends

upon their gaining supremacy in the struggle for political power; the achievement of Sarvodaya depends upon the positive and uncoerced expression of the will of the people. 'What is needed to develop people's power is a band of selfless workers prepared to live and move in the midst of the people and help them to reorganise their lives on a self-reliant and self-governing basis.'[35] Vinoba Bhave's well-known efforts during his *bhoodan* mission walking from village to village to get land gifted for the landless, resulting in the donation of some ten million acres, is a practical example of what devoted work could do. *Swarajya*, when translated, would mean the government of the individual over himself; the achievement of sarvodaya assumes a popular will for self-government on an individual and on a national level. 'In the democracy which I have envisaged', Gandhi wrote in 1942, 'a democracy established by non-violence, there will be equal freedom for all. Everybody will be his own master.'[36]

(*iv*) Decentralization : Self-sufficient and self-governing village communities will form the basis of economic and political life under sarvodaya. 'The villages of India must become self-supporting', writes Vinoba Bhave in his essay 'Outline of Sarvodaya' (1952), 'they must manufacture the finished goods which they require in their villages. All should get food and all must work. The economy of the nation should be placed on the lines of joint family.'[37] The village communities will also govern themselves. Decentralization both at the economic and political levels will train and discipline the people in the management and control of their own affairs. 'The central authority, so long as it exists, would be like a danger chain in a railway train. Passengers do not always have their attention fixed on this chain, but they make use of it in times of danger.'

(*v*) A consensus, instead of a majority decision, is desirable. The principle of sarvodaya—welfare of all—naturally implies that the decision must be taken by all the elected representatives; where there are pronounced differences of opinion on a programme, Vinoba Bhave thinks it is better that it is left over till all agree to it.

(*vi*) The realization of sharing on a basis of equality: Gandhi's principle of equality, from which sarvodaya derives its inspiration, has been explained earlier in this survey. It is sufficient to cite a passage from K. G. Mashruwala's 'The Principle

of Sharing' (1948) further to elucidate the point : 'An enterprising young man in a joint Hindu family goes abroad and makes money. He has to share it with other members of the family, even as he himself gets a share in the earnings made at home during his absence. Why not extend the bounds of family and include the tenant and labourer, indeed the whole village in it ? Then there should be no cause for jealousy.'[38]

6 *THE PLACE OF SARVODAYA IN POLITICAL THEORY*

The concept of sarvodaya is the most original contemporary attempt at an Indian contribution to political thought. It owes its origin to M. K. Gandhi and has been developed by Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan. It postulates that development of self-governing village communities, decision of local issues by consensus or near unanimity, limitation of wants and the development of peoples' capacity to run their affairs with minimum governmental control and assistance will lead to the welfare of all and social harmony. It is assumed that human nature is essentially good. If the social environment is transformed, especially by the limitation of individual desires, glaring inequalities will disappear. The evils of what R. H. Tawney has aptly termed the acquisitive society will also be reduced. The development of huge urban areas is the villain of the piece. As J. P. Narayan says: 'The towns and cities are human jungles where impersonal relationships govern the life of the individual.'[39] Grabbing more and more to satisfy one's personal needs with no regard for the interests of others becomes the order of the day and inequalities and social disharmony inevitably grow. If, instead, through the disinterested efforts of voluntary workers who believe in sarvodaya, attention can be devoted to the development of self-sufficient village communities, the roots of social disharmony can be treated. The villagers know one another. Besides, they know that they have to live and work with one another. The development of human relationships will create the atmosphere in which greed will be reduced to the minimum. Social awareness will develop and real democracy will flourish. Decentralization and the limitation of governmental power to the task of protecting life and property will lead to the establishment of real *swarajya*, the control of each over himself. The tradition of contentment with a modest level

of material comforts is quite different from that of acquisitiveness and is believed to lead to the greatest happiness.

The theory is *prima facie* attractive. Liberty, equality and fraternity, principles which have caught the imagination of the modern world ever since the French Revolution progagated them, seem to be realizable in the sarvodaya society. Besides, it is basically in the Indian tradition which has always emphasized contentment, as distinguished from acquisitiveness, as leading to the highest happiness. But looking closely into the elements of the theory three questions must be resolved before the theory can be accepted.

Firstly, human nature, it is admitted, is capable of achieving excellence, but until the bulk of the community has attained that excellence—a matter of time and training—how can sarvodaya work ? Does not the theory postulate a condition, i.e. suitability of the human being for growing towards sarvodaya, which sarvodaya alone can create ?

Secondly, the modern trend all over the world is towards an expanding sphere of State intervention. Can the causes of this trend—the growing complexity of modern life, the increase in population, the greater consciousness of poverty and unemployment and the exploitation of the individual by other individuals and groups—be ignored while advocating the doctrine that government is best which governs least ?

Finally, admitting that a self-sufficient village community with restricted wants and greater economic equality is a desirable ideal, how can the winds of change blowing from affluent societies be prevented from adversely affecting the psychology of the people who are to live under such ideal conditions ?

Utopias there have been, and there will be, and sarvodaya is a utopian ideal. While a utopia, as the name suggests, may be unrealizable, it is useful in so far as it draws pointed attention to existing defects and suggests remedies which may be acceptable in part. Sarvodaya draws our attention to the excesses in modern society: the worship of mammon, the exaltation of the State over the individual, economic inequalities both among individuals and nations and the atomization of democracy. If the sarvodaya ideal as a whole is not acceptable, it at least suggests, to discerning minds, the desirability of adopting what may be called the middle path in social and political organization. The acquisitive

instinct must be curbed, greater decentralization must be adopted, economic inequalities must be reduced and the individual must participate more in government. The principle of the mean is the safest one: society is ill-ordered not only when liberty and equality are extinct but when the citizens carry them too far. The landlord of 'The Rainbow' in George Eliot's *Silas Marner* had firmly grasped this truth when, after having listened to hundreds of political discussions, he framed his formula: 'The truth lies atween you: you're both right and both wrong, as I allays say.'

The differences between sarvodaya, socialism and communism have been brought out in the foregoing paragraphs. Briefly socialism and communism are based on the theory of the class struggle; democratic socialism and communism alike depend on maintaining supreme political power for realizing socialism and retain the centralized State as a means of effecting the desired socio-economic change (though communism envisages that ultimately the State will wither away). Sarvodaya depends for success on the people's power instead of on the power of the State; it emphasizes decentralization, economic and political; and above all, it bases its whole philosophy on love, non-violence and social harmony instead of on hatred, class struggle and conflict.

9

RELIGION, POLITICS AND SOCIAL PROGRESS

1 CAN POLITICS BE DIVORCED FROM RELIGION ?

Earlier in this survey (Ch. V sections 1 and 2 and Ch. VI section 3), we noted how religion impinged on political thinking, for instance of Sri Aurobindo (the belief that every member is part of the Divine Essence strengthens the sense of belonging which is so necessary to the idea of nationhood) and of J. Ahmed and 'M. R. T' (it is the culture that has derived from a common religious belief that contributes to the sense of nationality or belonging to a nation). Nationality becomes a more cohesive force through religious unity. On the other hand, Nehru thought that to uphold secularism was axiomatic in a state like India which respects the rights of people of all religions, races, classes and shades of opinion, and as Rajagopalachari said, (Ch. VI section 3) upholders of secularism deny the theory that the different religions were predominantly influential in the development of different nations. Clearly, the relation between politics and religion, as viewed by our thinkers, needs closer attention.

Sri Aurobindo, writing in 1907, referred to the Indian tradition that the chief duty of the king was to ensure for the spiritually minded their freedom to pursue their religious pursuits; the king was the custodian of the spiritual wealth of the country. According to Sri Aurobindo, talk of religion and politics as unconnected aspects of human activity and regardless of the primacy of this tradition 'provokes laughter. Here everything that claims popular attention must have the sanction of religion. Neither does religion concern any other subject so intimately as politics.'[1] If self-knowledge and self-realization are the aims of the religious man, and if spiritual development depends on the preservation of the body it should be clear that a nation has to be free from alien control or government in order to develop according to its own genius. 'Those who allow others to take possession of their body cannot long remain in possession of their soul.'[2]

Gandhi is equally clear that religion cannot be divorced from politics; in his view those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means. Religion, according to Gandhi, means 'the permanent element in human nature which counts no cost too great in order to find full expression and which leaves the soul utterly restless until it has found itself, known its Maker and appreciated the true correspondence between the Maker and itself.'[3] The separate religions—Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, Buddhism—are different roads converging to the same point. Even as a tree has a single trunk, but many branches and leaves, so there is one true and perfect religion, but it becomes many as it passes through the human medium. The Allah of the Moslems is the same as the God of the Christians and the Isvara of the Hindus. Living faith in this God means acceptance of the idea of a brotherhood of mankind. It also means equal respect for all religions. 'After long study and experience,' Gandhi says, 'I have come to the conclusion that (1) all religions are true; (2) all religions have some error in them.'[4] All faiths constitute a revelation of truth but all are imperfect and liable to error. Hence the necessity of tolerance which does not mean indifference to one's own faith, but a more intelligent and purer love for it. Tolerance gives us spiritual insight, which is as far from fanaticism as the north pole from the south. True knowledge of religion breaks down the barriers between faith and faith. Gandhi comes to the conclusion that in reality there are as many religions as there are individuals, and, therefore, religion is essentially a personal matter and if we succeed in confining it to the personal plane, unnecessary conflicts would be avoided in our political life.

Does Gandhi not contradict himself, for earlier we have noted his saying that those who say that religion has nothing to do with politics do not know what religion means ? The apparent contradiction is resolved if it is remembered that Gandhi distinguishes between Religion (with a capital letter) and religions. When he says that Religion cannot be divorced from politics, he means the former, i.e., the underlying Truth of all religions. In that sense, he is clearly of the view that Religion should pervade every one of our actions. 'Here Religion', he says, 'does not mean sectarianism. It means a belief in ordered moral government of the universe. It is not less real because it is unseen. This Religion transcends Hinduism, Islam, Christianity, etc.

It does not supersede them. It harmonizes them and gives them reality.'[5]

The consequences of this view on Gandhi's political thought are profound. First, as we have seen in Ch. VI section 1 he held ends and means to be convertible: the same code of moral conduct should govern the State as that which applies to the individual.

Secondly, a man's loyalty should not stop with his country but should extend to the whole of humanity. Gandhi writes: 'For me the road to salvation lies through incessant toil in the service of my country and of humanity. I want to identify myself with everything that lives.'[6] He once told Mr. Montagu: 'I could not be leading a religious life unless I identified myself with the whole of mankind and that I could not do unless I took part in politics. The whole gamut of man's activities today constitutes an indivisible whole. You cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments. I do not know any religion apart from human activity. It provides a moral basis to all other activities which they would otherwise lack.'[7]

Thirdly, since all religions are equally true, and since religion is a purely personal matter, he does not believe in a State religion 'even though the whole community had one religion.'[8] Further, Gandhi is opposed to State aid, partly or wholly, to religious bodies. Religious education must be the sole concern of religious associations. 'A society or group, which depends partly or wholly on State aid for the existence of its religion, does not deserve, or better still, does not have any religion worth the name.'[9]

It is interesting that Gandhi's view—that you cannot divide social, economic, political and purely religious work into watertight compartments—is shared by M. Iqbal, the renowned Muslim scholar (1877—1938). Islam, according to Iqbal, is a whole philosophy of life and political life is an essential and indispensable part of it. Politics have their deep roots in the spiritual life of man; the separation of politics from religion is the greatest misfortune of man and it is the divorce between the two which is destroying the whole superstructure of civilization. Iqbal's view that in Islam religion is the inspiration for all actions seems to coincide with Gandhi's view; but the discerning reader will

have deduced that the political implications which M. A. Jinnah, J. Ahmed and 'M. R. T.' deduced from that view would not be agreed to by Gandhi; for him, as we have noted above, religion is a personal matter and the more it is confined to the personal plane, the better for the government of the State.

The political implications which 'M. R. T.', for instance, drew from the idea that in Islam religion is the motive spring of all actions in life are far-reaching :—

'Mr. Gandhi should know', writes 'M.R.T.' (in the *Eastern Times* 12 April 1940), 'that in cases where there is a conflict between duty towards religion and duty towards nation, a Muslim will always prefer the role of a nationalist in the broader interests of Islam. A Muslim cannot reconcile his allegiance permanently to the theory of a single nation wherein he is required to merge his identity and lose contact with his religion as a dominating force or with the Muslims in other parts of the world.'[10]

Whether a State, with a hundred per cent Muslim population or a majority or minority of Muslims, can remain a stable State if it accepts the implications outlined above is one of the very difficult questions for political theory to answer.

Communalism

'M. R. T.' 's conception of the possibly conflicting duties of a Muslim to his religion and to the nation of which he is a citizen indicates the dangers to which the alliance of religion and politics in the form of communalism (against which Gandhi had uttered a warning) may lead. Communalism in this sense is the political recognition of groups based on a religious denomination (Hindu, Muslim, Sikh) or on caste (e.g. Brahmin, non-Brahmin). Such recognition may result in communal parties contesting elections, in demands on the part of the communities for reservation of seats in legislatures and separate electorates and for reservation of a certain proportion of administrative posts for their members. There are, however, as M. Iqbal said in 1930, communalisms and communalisms. The principle that every group based on denomination or caste is entitled to free development on its own lines has been universally admitted; it has also been admitted by all that a community has no right

to spread ill-will towards other communities. The difference of views really arises when you consider what precisely 'the free development' of a community means and does not mean.

The resolution supported by J. Nehru in April 1948 and passed by the Constituent Assembly (Legislative) represents one such approach :—

> 'Whereas it is essential for the proper functioning of democracy and the growth of national unity and solidarity that communalism should be eliminated from Indian life, this Assembly is of opinion that no communal organization which by its constitution or by the exercise of discretionary power vested in any of its officers or organs, admits to or excludes from its membership persons on grounds of religion, race and caste or any of them, should be permitted to engage in any activities other than those essential for the *bonafide* religious, cultural, social and educational needs of the community, and that all steps, legislative and administrative, necessary to prevent such activities should be taken.[11]

Supporting the resolution, J. Nehru said that the combination of politics and of religion in the narrowest sense of the word, resulting in communal politics, is a most dangerous combination : it is harmful to the country as a whole; it is harmful to the majority, but probably it is most harmful to any minority that seeks to have some advantage from it, for thereby it puts a barrier between itself and others and so it can never really exercise the influence which it legitimately ought to, if there were no such barriers.

The other view is represented by C. Rajagopalachari. In a thoughtful Article in the *Swarajya* in 1961, he argued that the communalism to which one may reasonably object is a type of narrow-mindedness based on caste or denomination leading to injustice, cruelty and nepotism. But if a religious minority, suffering under real or supposed grievances, organized itself for self-protection and advancement, would it be a crime ? Freedom of association and political action cannot, Rajagopalachari argues, be denied in a democracy; the banning of communal parties would, in his view, be undemocratic.

2 *RELIGION AND SOCIAL PROGRESS*

Taking the same view as Gandhi—that the different religions are the windows through which God's light shines into man's

soul, that the followers of different religions are partners in one spiritual quest, pursuing alternative approaches to the goal of spiritual life—Radhakrishnan said in 1954 that love of God and love of neighbour are the two sides, inward and outward, of a truly religious soul. If we are to be truly religious, we must work for the betterment of the world. It is our religious duty, for instance, to do everything in our power to avert a war in this atomic age, since we know what a frightful evil war would be in this age.

If, however, the message of religions is to be articulated in relation to the problems of our age, we must give up the view that any one religion contains the final, absolute and whole truth and adopt the Eastern attitude that the faith is realized in historical patterns, though no one of these patterns should regard itself as the sole and exclusive truth for all. 'We must be on our guard against the enemies of truth, men of fixed ideas and fanaticisms.'[12]

In his *The Religion We need* (1963), Radhakrishnan recurred to the favourite theme of his speeches and writings, that religion is not a simple spiritual state of the individual, but is the practice of the divine rule among men. The religious soul must seek for divine fulfilment not only in heaven above but on earth below. Brotherhood of all men, irrespective of race or nationality, is the ideal aim. History provides an explanation of the way in which accident and environment together have made humanity into innumerable races, each with its own language, its own racial individuality, its own physical characteristics; it would be irreligious to sow seeds of hatred among different races and nations and impel them 'to fly at each other's throats in fratricidal strife.'[13] A civilization based on hatred and injustice cannot last long. The believer in God should love his fellow men as he loves himself, seeking their highest good, as he seeks his own, by redemptive service and self-sacrifice. Briefly, religion, in Radhakrishnan's view, should be a powerful stimulus to promote social progress and universal brotherhood through the self-sacrificing efforts of truly religious men.

10

INTERNATIONALISM AND UNIVERSALISM

1 NATIONALISM AND INTERNATIONALISM

A careful study of the speeches and writings on nationalism by our thinkers does not throw fresh light on its defects or merits beyond what has been known for some time; nevertheless a brief summary of these ideas is necessary as a prelude to the appreciation of the stand our thinkers have taken on internationalism and universalism.

R. Tagore is by far the best known and most vigorous critic of nationalism as it had developed in the West from the sixteenth century to the Great War of 1914-18. A nation in the sense of the political and economic union of a people, says Tagore in his essay 'Nationalism in the West' (1917), is that aspect which a population assumes when organized for a mechanical purpose, i.e. in order to increase production through the use of machines with the minimum use of human energy. Political power is necessary for self preservation; but with the development of the idea of the nation, of science, and of the scale of organizations, this power may be used to increase the wealth of the nation. It goads its neighbouring societies with greed of material prosperity, and consequent mutual jealousy, and by the fear of each other's growth towards the assumption of power. 'The time comes when it can stop no longer, for the competition grows keener, organization grows vaster, and selfishness attains supremacy. Trading upon the fear and greed of man, it occupies more and more space in society and at last becomes its ruling force.'[1] Briefly, Tagore considered the idea of the nation a great evil; it was to him the organized self-interest of the people 'where it is least human and spiritual.'[2] As the nation evolves a highly complex power-structure, an important motivation amongst its members is that of the domination of others, involving conflict with them and their eventual conquest; their wish becomes to take advantage of the weakness or apathy of the rest of the world. 'But the apotheosis of selfishness', warned Tagore, 'can never make its interminable breed of hatred and greed, fear and hypocrisy, suspicion and tyranny, an end in themselves. These monsters grow into huge shapes but never

into harmony. And this Nation may grow on to an unimaginable corpulence, not of a living body but of steel and steam and office buildings, till its deformity can contain no longer its ugly voluminousness, till it begins to crack and gape, breathe gas and fire in gasps and its death rattles sound in cannon roars. In this war,* the death throes of the nation have commenced.'[3]

C. R. Das (1870-1925) is less pessimistic than Tagore. In his Presidential Address to the Bengal Provincial Congress (1917), he admits that the selfishness of nations leads to conflicts, but, after all, must we abolish nationality, he asks, because nations enter into war with one another ? Following the same train of reasoning, will it be said, he further asks, that we must abolish individual existence because individuals are perpetually quarrelling with one another ? 'Such argument is foolish. Man will develop his humanity, will find out the path to harmony, in spite of all differences and conflicts; and the same truth holds good in the case of nations as well.'[4] It is in and through the hundred conflicts of today that the nations of the world will march on towards the Federation of Humanity which is the ultimate goal. And if at some dim and distant day, the Federation of Humanity is established in this world, that will be because the different nations of the earth will each have developed consciousness of their own peculiarities and toleration towards those of others.

Indeed Das is emphatic that to establish the unity of the world, it is essential that each nationality should proceed on its own lines and find fulfilment in self-expression and self-realization. Let not true nationalism be confused with nationalism in Europe which is 'an aggressive nationalism, a selfish nationalism, a commercial nationalism, of gain and loss.'[5] 'I contend', he adds, 'that each nationality constitutes a particular stream of the great unity, but no nation can fulfil itself unless and until it becomes itself and at the same time realizes its identity with Humanity. The whole problem of nationalism is therefore to find that stream and to face that destiny.'[6]

M. K. Gandhi, in an article 'Nationalism v Internationalism' (1925), agrees with this view. It is impossible for one to be an internationalist, he says, without being a nationalist. Internationalism is possible only when nationalism becomes a fact,

*1914-18.

i.e., when peoples belonging to different countries have organized themselves and are able to act as one man. It is not nationalism that is evil; it is the narrowness, exclusiveness which is the bane of modern nations that is evil; each wants to profit at the expense of, and rise on, the ruin of the others. True nationalism, on the other hand, will want to organize itself and find full self-expression for the benefit and service of humanity at large.

To the analysis given above, A. Maudoodi in his essay 'Nationalism and India' (1948) adds one significant point: to the extent that membership of the nation promotes the sentiment 'my country, right or wrong', it becomes a menace to human civilization.

2 CAN WAR BE ABOLISHED ?

Sri Aurobindo, in an essay 'The Passing of War' (1916-20), expresses the view that the phenomenon of war can disappear only when man has developed a sense of unity with his fellowmen, and when he has learned to live in greater consciousness of universal values. There was a time when men had the illusion that the extension of commerce would lead to the extension of war, for it was thought that the growing and universal lust for gold and the habit of comfort and the necessities of increased production and intricate interchange, which commercialism would engender, would eradicate the lust for power and dominion and glory and battle. This proved an illusion for 'this very reign of commercialism, this increase of production and interchange, this desire for commodities and markets and this piling up of a huge burden of unnecessary necessities has been the cause of half the wars that have afflicted the human race.'[7]

Another illusion was that the growth of democracy would mean the growth of pacifism and the end of war, for it was fondly thought that wars were in their nature dynastic and aristocratic; 'greedy kings and martial nobles driven by earth-hunger and battle-hunger, diplomatists playing at chess with the lives of men and the fortunes of nations, these were the guilty causes of war who drove the unfortunate peoples to the battlefield like sheep to the shambles.'[8] A knowledge of the histories of old democracies, such as Athens, should have prevented such illusions; but man seldom learns from history.

A third illusion was that the Courts of Arbitration set up at

the Hague Conference of 1907 and the Concert of Europe would prevent war. There again the course that events immediately took was sufficiently ironic; for the institution of the Court of International Arbitration was followed up by a series of little and great wars which led by an inexorable chain to the long-dreaded European conflict and the monarch who had first conceived the idea (the Tsar of Russia) was also the first to unsheath his sword in a conflict dictated on both sides by the most unrighteous greed and aggression.

Such illusions are explained only by one factor: the men who had these illusions ignored human nature. Sri Aurobindo's own conclusion is that so long as war does not become psychologically impossible, it will remain, or, if banished for a while, return. Only when man becomes aware of other men not merely as brothers, but as parts of himself, and when he has learnt to live in greater consciousness of universal values will war end.

J. Nehru in an Address to Columbia University (17 October 1949) touched on the root causes of wars and came to the conclusion, which has been generally accepted, that war can disappear only when the three root causes of war—political subjection resulting from imperialism, racial and economic inequality and misery—are removed. 'If we can offer no remedy, then, other cries and slogans make an appeal to the minds of the people.'[9]

An apparently startling view is expressed by V. Bhave whose significant contribution to social theory we have referred to in the course of our survey: 'I am not afraid of world wars. I am rather afraid of small wars and quarrels.'[10] He explains his meaning thus: A world war appears to come very close to non-violence in one of its consequences, for when world wars are fought, men are stimulated to think of the enormity of the damage caused by them and to think of ways and means of banishing war. World war frees man's mind from limitations which make him think in narrow grooves and impels him to think in terms of humanity as a whole. 'This is a big step forward towards *ahimsa*.'[11] But this is not true of small wars. Their consequences are quite different to those of *ahimsa* and all the time push *ahimsa* further and further away. 'We therefore ought to be on our guard against these. Those who believe in violence are not unaware of this. Their effort, therefore, is to prevent

world wars as far as possible, and to go on with small wars.'[12] The history of international tensions since the end of the Second World War in 1945 will perhaps substantiate V. Bhave's view.

That M. K. Gandhi advocated non-violence in the mutual relations of States has been indicated earlier in this survey; it does not need elaboration here.

3 THE FOUNDATIONS OF PEACE

There are two parallel ways to peace in Nehru's view: one which tackles the roots of conflict, political, social and economic as indicated earlier, and the other which attempts to resolve a given conflict without recourse to violence so that there may be a reduction in international tensions arising from the conflict, even if the conflict itself may not be resolved.

The ending of colonialism and racialism, the raising of the living standards of people in underdeveloped countries and the promotion of the temper of peace in as wide an area as possible will help to tackle the roots of conflict. The promotion of the temper of peace will be facilitated by disarmament and by the the 'recognition of each other's sovereignty, independence and integrity, or non-interference in the domestic affairs of each other or of other countries, and on the promotion, both for themselves and for the world, of the approach and conditions of peaceful co-existence.'[13] Wars derive from the minds of men and the promotion of the temper of peace will help to promote a climate of peace.

Nehru knew that this would have to be a long-term approach. To resolve conflicts which have arisen, Nehru's view is that the manner of approach to it must be peaceful—not one of hatred and revenge but of friendship. In Nehru's words :—

> 'Whatever the problems, difficult or simple, the manner of approach will make a difference. And you know if you approach them in anger, hatred, in a spirit of violence, then the problems become difficult and indeed much more difficult and much less amenable to solution. So the Indian approach, whether you live up to it giving in or accepting what we consider wrong, never theless trying to tone down, first our actions and words, and if possible, our thinking to some extent from cold-war thinking.....to hold to what we consider right, firmly and without fear and yet not to speak about opponents in terms which would worsen the situation.....it may be said by many that it is an idealistic way of approaching world problems.....and yet

> this is not only an idealistic way but in the circumstances of the world today, I submit the only practical way, strictly from the practical point of view and that is why the leaders of other countries not accepting perhaps the philosophy of this practically are functioning or coming round to functioning on those lines.'[14]

Nehru's approach proceeds on the assumption that peace cannot be promoted by creating positions of strength; on the contrary, the creation of positions of strength might become a threat to peace, for every party will naturally try to increase its strength vis-a-vis its competitors for power, and such an attempt is suicidal in the atomic age. To enter into military alliances and establish military bases in foreign territory accentuates discord and the possibility of war. Whether or not it preserved peace in the pre-atomic age, the traditional balance of power cannot function in such a way today. A realistic contemporary approach to peace lies in exploring, perhaps more fully than has previously seemed necessary, the potentialities of negotiation and other means of peacefully settling conflicts, and in promoting active peaceful co-operation between states. Such an approach cannot guarantee peace but it has to be tried if only because there is no other. Its essence is the determination to avoid the use of violence which creates more problems than it solves if, indeed, its use does not lead to world destruction; hence discussion, negotiation and accommodation are the only ways left for the settlement of differences.

C. Rajagopalachari in a series of Articles (1959-1962) has made five thoughtful suggestions on the maintenance of peace; these are worth presenting in a history of political thought in India :

(*i*) The quest for absolute security, that is, the security of a country from aggression at any time and from any quarter, which is now the dominant passion of all sovereign states, is as futile as it is wrong. This quest becomes in the end a quest for power, by the gaining of which each sovereign state hopes for security from the others, against every other nation, single or combined. Such a quest for power is untenable as a noble or attainable ideal. Instead, the individual and the nation should learn to be unperturbed and refrain from causing fear in others and thus prevent it in oneself.

(*ii*) Unilateral action, e.g. by way of nuclear disarmament,

is the ultimate and only means of dissolving the mutual distrust that is at the root of the Cold War. It requires great courage, but such action is worthwhile because it is a procedure based on the assumption that in human intercourse a step taken by one party in advance and without any guarantee from the other sdes inevitably produces a reaction from the other party; it assumes an essential goodness in human beings.

(*iii*) Not until men give full and unqualified homage to the teachings of religion can we expect the world to find a way to establish peace on earth, for only then can we hope for the dissolution of national pride and national fears and for the abandonment of thoughts of aggression.

(*iv*) All unresolved differences between neighbouring countries should be resolved by arbitration.

(*v*) And, finally, Rajagopalachari urges the adoption of peaceful civil resistance by Governments in place of the traditional resort to war. This suggestion is contained in letters during April-May 1962 exchanged between C. Rajagopalachari and J. Nehru about the proposal of Bertrand Russell that non-aligned nations might send cruisers and ships to the area in which the United States proposed to test the H. Bomb. Rajagopalachari urged Nehru to send a ship to Christmas Island offering himself as a civil resister. Nehru did not accept the suggestion.

4 WORLD UNITY AND WORLD GOVERNMENT

Some of our thinkers, notably Sri Aurobindo, J. Nehru and C. Rajagopalachari, thought world government would be the ideal institution to maintain peace. That is a distant ideal; but even so it would be useful to keep that ideal in mind in working and modifying existing social and political institutions.

In his essay 'The Ideal of World Unity' (1915-18, 1950), Sri Aurobindo took the view that even when considering the most disparaging features and dangerous possibilities existing in the world, such as the ideological divisions and the cold war, the arms race and nuclear rivalry, the development of some kind of world-union is inevitable. He attributed this to 'the drive of Nature, the compulsion of circumstance and the present and future needs of mankind'.

He considered that the working of nature in human society is such that it makes for larger and larger groups of people.

These derive from the combination of two factors. Firstly, there is the increasing closeness of common interest or at least the interlacing and interrelation of interests in a larger and yet larger circle which makes old divisions an obstacle and a weakness. Nation-states and national empires developed in this way. Secondly, there is the force of a common uniting sentiment, often helped by external circumstances such as the need for security against aggression from without. Federation developed in this way.

The development of common interests and sentiments presupposes the possibility of an international world organization dedicated to the maintenance of peace. Among such interests the foremost are security for the prevention of a world war in this atomic age and the optimum use of science and technology to raise living standards throughout the world. The humanitarian way of life, which has been steadily growing, albeit inadequately, ever since the eighteenth century, when liberty, equality and fraternity were proclaimed as human ideals, is the common sentiment. The gist of this substitute for traditional religion is that man must tolerate and safeguard man regardless of any distinctions of race, creed, colour, nationality, status, political or social advancement.

The body of man is to be respected, strengthened to resist violence and outrage, fortified by science against disease and preventable death. The life of man is to be held sacred, preserved, strengthened, ennobled, uplifted. The heart of man is to be held sacred also, given scope for self-expression, protected from violation, from suppression, from mechanization, freed from belittling influences. The mind of man is to be released from all bonds, allowed freedom and range and opportunity, given all its means of self-training and self-development and directed in the exercise of its powers towards the service of humanity. And all this is not to be held as an abstract or pious sentiment, but given full and practical recognition in the actions of men and nations and mankind.

Common interests and the common sentiment are, in the course of time, bound to lend to the creation of a world-State in spite of dangers and difficulties, of which there are, and will be, plenty. The evolutionary urge is there, and the law of self-preservation is not likely to be ignored by man.

The most desirable form of world state would be, according

to Sri Aurobindo, a federation of free nationalities in which all subjection or forced inequality and subordination of one to another would have disappeared and, though some might preserve a greater natural influence, all would have an equal status. A confederacy would give the greatest freedom to the nations constituting the World State but this might give too much room for fissiparous or centrifugal tendencies to operate; a federal order would then be the most desirable.

That J. Nehru was, intellectually, convinced of the need for world government even as early as 1934 is clear from what he wrote in his *Toward Freedom*. 'If a world federation comes, that will be welcome.' As he came to grips with international problems, after he became Prime Minister in 1946-47, it became evident to him that in a world government lay the key to world peace. This is evident from the message he sent to the Herald Tribune Forum in 1949 : 'There can be no doubt that a world government must come sometime or other. For the only alternative to it is world suicide.'[15] It may take a little time to realize the ideal because men's minds are not sufficiently attuned to it. Nehru deplores the slowness with which people's minds adapt themselves to a changing environment. The world changes from day to day, not so our minds which are peculiarly static and insist on imagining that today is the same as yesterday and tomorrow will not differ greatly. This lag between our minds and reality prevents us from solving the essential problems; the sooner the lag is made up, the better for world peace.

C. Rajagopalachari, to whose thoughtful contributions to social theory, we have referred again and again in this survey, is also clearly of the view that a world government is necessary. In an article written in 1960, he says with his customary directness: Such a world federation is the most effective way of achieving world peace in a real sense, that is, to end the cold war and the hot war it restrains. It involves the disbanding of all national instruments of war, including the military forces of all nations, with the exception of those which serve the needs of internal policing, and the construction of an adequate and efficient army for suppressing any revolt against the world federation and its authority. World courts should be established for enquiring into and giving binding decisions on all disputes of an international nature or otherwise falling within a category that calls for the world authority's intervention.

Sri Aurobindo, J. Nehru and C. Rajagopalachari are, we think, in line with progressive thinking in the world in regard to the ideal of a world state. Sri Aurobindo's view is that a world state will evolve naturally; but the recognition of common interests and the growth of a common sentiment alone will facilitate its establishment. We recall Lord Bryce's statement that the permanence of an institution depends not merely on the material interests that support it, but on its conformity with the deep-seated sentiment of the men for whom it is established. One can hope with Sri Aurobindo that the religion of humanity, the principles of which have been propagated at least since the French Revolution of 1789, will take root among men and will help to unite them. Sri Aurobindo's view is that there is in man a desire to unify himself with others of his species which creates in men a desire to evolve a world state.[16] The idea that man must tolerate man regardless of all distinctions of race, creed, colour, nationality and political and social advancement is certainly growing, as is apparent from the discussions and the resolutions in the United Nations on human rights and on the abolition of racial discrimination; it is equally true that the idea of toleration has not grown as fast as it could have done. Reference may also be made to the proposals made by Clark and Sohn in their *World Peace Through World Law* (1962) for the conversion of the United Nations into a super-State with the sole function of preventing war. Above all, since Sri Aurobindo wrote his *The Ideal of World Unity*, a world State has been technically made more possible thanks to technological developments, especially in transport and communication. A world government must be able, if it is to be effective, to communicate its decisions quickly to the different parts of the world and to enforce its decisions, if necessary by force. The aeroplane, the telegraph and the radio network have made both these possible.

Political rivalries among nations continue and the emphasis on national sovereignty is no less than it was. This only shows that the ideal pointed to by Sri Aurobindo will take time to be realized; but the ideal itself developed in *The Ideal of World Unity* must be considered a valuable contribution to political thought.

11

THE PAST AND THE PRESENT

1 SOCIETY AND THE STATE

Do the writings of the various thinkers discussed above reflect original Indian values in politics ? In Sri Aurobindo's view, expressed in *The Spirit and Form of Indian Polity* (1918-21), the last generation merely attempted to imitate and reproduce 'with a servile fidelity the ideals and forms of the West', and the true Indian values as expressed in the concept of dharma have to be revived.[1] This remark, intended to apply to writers from, say, 1890 to 1915, obviously could not apply to Tagore who, (see p. 81) thought of a relation between society and the State in ancient Indian terms: society was then more self-reliant, less dependent upon the State. It could not apply to Gandhi who had evolved his basic ideas from the Indian tradition. Equally this criticism would not apply to thinkers like Vinoba Bhave and J. P. Narayan, who wrote later than Sri Aurobindo. Sri Aurobindo's regret was that the concept of the ruler as the guardian of dharma, which is basic to ancient Indian thinking, had not been suitably adapted to modern conditions. Dharma, he points out in the essay referred to above, was 'the religious, ethical, social, political, judicial and customary law organically governing the life of the people'.[2] The authority of dharma and the spirit in which it was conceived was always considered sacred and eternal. Evolutionary changes in society were absorbed into the dharma and its law was consequently altered to take account of such change. No secular authority had any right of autocratic interference with the dharma. The Brahmans (the priestly class) themselves were recorders and exponents of the dharma, not its creators; nor were they authorized to make at will any changes, although it is evident that by an authoritative expression of opinion they could and did favour or oppose this or that tendency to change of principle or detail. The king was only the guardian, executor and servant of the dharma, charged to see to its observance and to prevent offences, serious irregularities and breaches. He himself was bound to obey it

and observe the rigorous rules it laid on his personal life and action and on the province, powers and duties of his royal authority and office.

Through the various foreign invasions, the observance of the dharma has been dimmed. Changes too have occurred in the social and economic environment; one wishes, Sri Aurobindo says, that instead of copying the West and repeating the cycle of the Occident's success and failure, 'the complete meaning and a vaster form of Dharma'[3] were worked out in the altered environment.

Another writer to whom attention must be devoted in the present context is Swami Dayananda (1824-1883), the founder of the Hindu reformist movement known as the Arya Samaj. Perhaps unique among thinkers of modern India, Swami Dayananda has left behind an essay entitled 'The Science of Government' forming Chapter VI of his major work *The Light of Truth*. It is noteworthy that he bases his conclusions almost entirely on ancient Hindu texts, the Vedas and the *Dharma-sastra* of Manu—a clear impact of the past on political thinking in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

The basic idea developed in his 'Science of Government' may be stated thus :—

For the benefit of the rulers and the ruled, there should be three Assemblies, religious, legislative and educational ; each should discuss and decide subjects that concern it. The Assemblies, Military Councils and the Army should harmoniously work together to carry on the government of a country. Let the king who is the leader of the Assembly abide by the just laws passed by the Assembly and let other members do the same.

This 'means that no single individual should be invested with absolute power. The king, who is the president of the Assembly, and the Assembly itself should be inter dependent on each other. Both should be controlled by the people, who in their turn should be governed by the Assembly'.[4] It is interesting to find the theory of checks and balances in an Indian work of political science in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

If this system was not followed, and the king was independent of the people and had absolute power, 'He would impoverish the people.....being despotic and hence arrogant.....and oppress them.'[5] A despotic ruler does not let any one else grow powerful.

He robs the rich, usurps their property by unjust punishment, and accomplishes his selfish end. One man should therefore never be given despotic power.

Other principles favoured by Swami Dayananda may be briefly mentioned. Military preparations are always essential in order to protect the security of the State; men are politically great only as long as they remain honourable, just and virtuous. When they become wicked and unjust, they bring about their own downfall. All men should subordinate themselves to the laws that are calculated to promote general well-being and they should be free to act as they consider fit in matters relating to individual well-being ; the Law alone is sovereign, the basis for the dispensation of justice, and for maintaining discipline in the community. When rightly administered it makes 'all men happy', but when administered wrongly, i.e., without due regard for the requirements of justice, 'it ruins the king'; the punishment of a criminal should be 'adequate and quick': 'Let not the king and other persons in authority, who desire wealth and prosperity, and love justice and righteousness, delay even for a single moment the punishment of a man who has committed atrocious violence as dacoity, robbery etc';[6] the king, like his meanest subject, was subject to judicial trials if he committed crime ; 'indeed he should be punished even more severely than other people.'[7]

2 *A THEORY OF POLITICAL CYCLES*

The impact of the past on the present, even the explanation of the present on the basis of the past (not only in terms of Indian, but also world history), is perhaps best seen in Swami Vivekananda (1863–1902). The Swami is famous as a close disciple of Sri Ramakrishna, religious teacher and founder of the Sri Ramakrishna Math and Mission. He developed in his *Modern India* (1899) a theory of political cycles, which is interesting in that it echoes the theory of political cycles found in the Indian epic *Mahabharata* and adapts the theories associated with Western social philosophers like Herbert Spencer and Comte.

The basis of the theory may be simply stated : according to the prevalence in greater or lesser degree of the three qualities of *sattva* (the serene), *rajas* (the active) and *tamas* (the ignorant)

in man, the four castes, Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra are everywhere present at all times, in all civilized States. Their number and power vary at different times, in regard to different countries. 'In some countries the numerical strength or influence of one of those castes may preponderate over another; at some period, one of the classes may be more powerful than the rest. But from a careful study of the history of the world, it appears that, in conformity to the Law of Nature, the four castes, the Brahman, Kshatriya, Vaisya and Sudra, do, in every society, one after another in succession, govern the world'.[8] This is true of the Chinese, the Sumerians, the Babylonians, the Egyptians, the Chaldeans, the Aryans, the Iranians, the Jews and the Arabs.

Among all the nations mentioned above, the Swami says, 'the supreme power of guiding society is, in the first period of their history, in the hands of the Brahman or the priest. In the second period, the ruling power is the Kshatriya, i.e., absolute monarchy, or oligarchical government by a chosen body of men. Among the modern Western nations, with England at their head, this power of controlling society has been, for the first time, in the hands of the Vaisyas, or mercantile communities, made rich through the carrying on of commerce.'[9]

What explains the rise and fall of the classes referred to ?

The foundation of the priestly power rests on intellectual strength, and not on the physical strength of arms. The priests know the gods and communicate with them ; with abundant leisure given to them, they develop spiritual knowledge and capacity. 'The first offshoot of universal welfare and good is nursed by his spiritual power, by his devotion to learning and wisdom, by his renunciation.'[10] It is not surprising that 'a word from the priest, who has neither wealth nor men behind him but whose sole strength is his spiritual power, can quench the despotic royal will, as water the fire.'[11]

Two reasons lead, in time, to the decline of the priestly power. First, the repository of priestly power and the centre of its influence are wholly mental and consist in the ability of the priests to 'communicate' with gods through uttering certain words, the repetition of certain syllables and other similar processes and applications of the mind which are kept secret. Faith wavers. Secondly, entangled in the wheel of circumstances,

keeping their systems of thought among themselves, their human nature becomes a victim of extreme selfishness and hypocrisy as is almost inevitable under such conditions of secrecy. If knowledge is thus concealed, then any wise interpretation of it is likely to be hidden from the world ; what is apparent is thought to have originated from some supernatural force. Therefore, far from making fresh efforts to look for originality and to gain knowledge of new sciences, it is considered useless and futile to attempt even to improve the remnants of the old by cleansing them of their corruptions. 'Thus lost to former wisdom, the former indomitable spirit of self-reliance, the priest now, glorifying himself in the name of his forefathers, vainly struggles to preserve untarnished for himself the same glory, the same privilege, the same veneration and the same supremacy as was enjoyed by his great forefathers. Consequently his violent collision with the other castes.'[12] The priest had forgotten an elementary truth about social progress, namely, 'For the welfare of society, it is absolutely necessary at certain times to have all knowledge and power concentrated in certain families or castes, to the exclusion of others, but that concentrated power is focussed for the time being, only to be scattered broadcast over the whole of society in future. If this diffusion is withheld, the destruction of that society is, without doubt, near at hand.'[13]

During the period of Kshatriya supremacy, an identical mistake is committed. 'As the priest is busy about centralising all knowledge and learning at a common centre to wit, himself, so the king is ever up and doing in collecting all the earthly powers and focussing them in a central point, i.e. his own self.'[14] The king, the centre of the forces of the aggregate of his subjects, (i.e. who symbolizes in himself the strength of the whole people) soon forgets that those forces are only stored with him so that he may increase and give them back a thousandfold in their potency with the result that they may spread over the whole community for its good. Oppression steps into the place of protection. A fierce contest between the king and his subjects ensues 'and the throne and the royal paraphernalia become like past curiosities preserved in the museum galleries.'[15]

As the result of this contest—or the reaction to it—is the appearance of the mighty power of the Vaisya : just as learning made the Brahman powerful and the power of the words made

the Kshatriya powerful, the Vaisya's power depends upon his wealth. As during the supremacy of the Brahman and the Kshatriya, there is a centralization of learning and advancement of civilization, so the result of the supremacy of the Vaisya is accumulation of wealth; and through the trade directed by the Vaisyas, the 'wisdom, civilization and arts that accumulated in the heart of the social body, during the Brahmana and the Kshatriya supremacies, are being diffused in all directions by the arteries of commerce.'[16]

Finally, the Swami thinks, 'a time will come when there will be the rising of the Sudra class.....when the Sudras of every country, with their inborn Sudra nature and habits—not becoming in essence Vaisya or Kshatriya, but remaining as Sudras will gain absolute supremacy in every country.'[17] Socialism, Anarchism, Nihilism and other similar sects are in the vanguard of the social revolution that is to follow.

We need not follow the Swami's thoughts further; enough has been said to give some inkling of the theory of political cycles which he elaborated, indicating the impact of the past on political thinking at the end of the nineteenth century.

3 *LACUNAE IN POLITICAL THOUGHT IN INDIA*

A question that we must finally attempt to answer is : Has Indian thought anything to offer to enrich the sum total of political thought ?

The answer would depend on how far Indian thinkers have reflected original Indian values and experience in politics. To say with Sri Aurobindo who stated in 1915-18 that the 'last generation merely attempted to imitate and reproduce with a servile fidelity the ideals and forms of the West'[18] would only be partially true. Perhaps a more balanced view would be that political thinking in India during the last one hundred years is a blend of Indian tradition and experience and Western political experience and thought.

Among the fruitful ideas which are essentially based on Indian values and experience are the following: even the government of a dependent people must make consent, not force, the basis of its exercise of power; self government is not only preferable to good government, but is necessary for good government ; the right means must be found and adopted

to achieve the desired end ; the aim of society should be the welfare of all, and not only the greatest happiness of the greatest number; to achieve this aim, the limitation of wants instead of an indefinite, unlimited multiplication of wants is essential and the doctrine of trusteeship must be applied by the rich in respect of their surplus wealth; personal suffering may move the sympathy and gain the support of others for the cause at heart, where ordinary political methods of reasoning and persuasion fail; and socialist theory, instead of borrowing its basic aims from capitalism and communism, should strike out in an autonomous direction, that of political and economic decentralization.

Several of these ideas are important; however, they need further investigation before they can be considered substantial contributions to political thought. It is indeed agreed that consent, not force, must be the basis of the government of a dependent people. But how is that consent to be obtained ? Syed Ahmed's statement 'It is therefore necessary that for the peace of India and for the progress of everything in India the English Government should remain for many years—in fact for ever'[19], on account of the sharp social divisions in Indian society, must be taken into account; how is an imperial power to act in such a situation ? Self-government is necessary for good government; what institutional changes may be suggested in order that self-government might result in good government ? On the equation of means and ends, we raised the relevant question whether in practice the State can follow the same code of conduct as the individual. J. Nehru, it will be recalled, qualified such equation by the statement that so long as a statesman can carry the people with him, he ought to follow the same code of conduct as a private individual. In our view Nehru is right, for his statement implies that the State in this respect is in the position of a trustee rather than an individual, the trustee being limited by the interests of his ward. But, in turn, this raises the question, how can a statesman make sure that the people support him on a particular question ? As to the theory of trusteeship developed by M. K. Gandhi, Nehru's scepticism whether the rich may be depended on to use their surplus wealth for the common good has to be answered. Can the evils of an acquisitive society be eliminated except by institu-

tional changes designed to protect the have-nots from exploitation ?

On satyagraha we have earlier raised the question, how can one ensure that a course of action which appeals to the conscience of a satyagrahi as being socially beneficial is also in the judgement of others similarly considered. The emphasis in theoretical democratic socialism is necessarily placed on economic and political decentralization. How can such decentralization be reconciled with the extent to which the needs of modern defence and economic development seem to demand centralized organization ?

These are but some of the queries raised in the students' mind by a study of political thought in modern India; there must be others equally important. It is hoped that this introductory survey will stimulate thinking and research on these and allied problems in political thought in India and thereby enrich this field which has not received the attention it deserves.

BIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

[The names are mentioned in alphabetical order]

Ahmed, Jamil-ud-Din—M.A., Muslim University, Aligarh ; Wrote an Essay 'Is India one Nation ?' which is included in the collection of Essays *India's Problem of Her Future Contitution* [Bombay, M.H. Saiyid, Mount Pleasant Road, 1940].

Ahmed, Sir Syed [1817–98]—Served in his early years under the East India Company; member of the Public Service Commission; visited England 1868–70; member of the Viceroy's Council 1878-82; objected to the introduction of the elective element in Indian politics; in 1875 founded a school in Aligarh which later developed into the Mohammedan Anglo-Oriental College in 1877; encouraged English education among the Muslim community.

Among his publications are *The Causes of the Indian Revolt* (1858) and *The Present State of Indian Politics* (1888).

Aiyar, P. S. Sivaswami [1864–1946]—A distinguished educationist, lawyer, and publicist, Sivaswami Aiyer occupied important positions in public life ; Advocate-General, Madras (1907–12) ; Member of the Executive Council, Madras (1912–17), and Member, Indian Legislative Assembly (1921–26). In politics, he belonged to the Liberal School. He took a keen interest in defence and military affairs and served on several committees relating to them.

His publications include *Indian Constitutional Problems* (1928) and *Evolution of Hindu Moral Ideals* (1935).

Aiyar, A. Subramanya—Author of a *Lecture on State Interference in Social Matters in India* [12 December 1890]. He is known to have been a B.A. L.T. (Bachelor of Arts and Licentiate in Teaching) and Assistant Lecturer at Rajahmundry College, Rajahmundry, now in Andhra Pradesh.

Ambedkar, Bhimrao Ramji [1893–1956]—Ambedkar has a place in history as the distinguished representative of the Harijans (before Gandhi coined this term, they were known

as the Depressed Classes) who did his best to improve the social and political status of his community. A naturally gifted person, he took to the profession of law, was for many years Professor of Jurisprudence and Constitutional Law ; and Member, Governor-General's Executive Council 1942-46. As Law member of Nehru's first cabinet, he was responsible for drafting and piloting India's present constitution.

Among his books may be mentioned : *Thoughts on Pakistan* (1941), *Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah* (1943), *Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables* (1943) and *Thoughts on Lingusitic States* (1955).

Aurobindo, Sri [1872–1950]—Aurobindo Ghose (as Sri Aurobindo was then known) came into prominence in public life in the nineties of the last century when he contributed a series of Articles to the columns of the *Induprakash* deprecating the method of prayers and petitions for gaining freedom for India, but, instead, advocating self-help. He edited the *Bande Mataram* (a Bengali weekly) in the first decade of the present century, and, through it, he expressed his ideas on nationalism and the ways by which freedom could be obtained, including passive resistance. He was imprisoned in 1908 in the Alipore jail (in Bengal) for sedition, but on his acquittal in the famous Alipore Case, he was released in 1909.

Aurobindo's reflections in the jail for nearly a year obviously led to a transformation in him: from a political agitator he emerged as a philosopher. He went to Pondicherry (then a French possession) in order to devote the rest of his life to contemplation and spiritual life.

Among his publications of value to the student of his political ideas are: *The Human Cycle* (1949), *The Ideal of Human Unity* (1959), and *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance* (1952).

Azad, Maulana Abul Kalam [1888–1958]—Took part in the Non-Cooperation Movement under Gandhi's leadership and was imprisoned several times; President, Indian National Congress 1923 and again 1939-46; Minister in Jawaharlal Nehru's cabinets 1947-58.

Among his publications may be mentioned *India Wins Freedom* (1959).

Banerjea, Surendranath [1848–1925]—For some time a member of the Indian Civil Service, Professor, Editor and Minister,

Surendranath Banerjea is best known in India as a public worker in the cause of Indian freedom. He spoke and wrote incessantly on self-government for India and related topics ; his best known work is *A Nation in Making* (1925), an essentially autobiographical work. He presided over two sessions of the Indian National Congress held in Poona in 1895 and in Ahmedabad in 1902.

Apart from his *A Nation in Making*, the *Speeches and Writings of Hon. Surendranath Banerjea* selected by Himself [Madras, G.A. Natesan & Co. n. d.] may also be consulted for a study of his political ideas.

Bhave, Acharya Vinoba [b. 1895]—Social worker, and known as associate of M. K. Gandhi ; was named by Gandhi as his first representative in the individual civil disobedience movement directed against the British Indian Government's policy of involving India in the World War 1940 ; originator of the Bhoodan (land-gifts) movement. His publications include *Bhoodan Yagna* (1953).

Bomanji, Framji—The book *Light and Shades of the East* (1863) by F. Bomanji contains the following information about himself : Late of the Elphinstone College.

Bose, Subhas Chandra [1897–1945]—Subhas Chandra Bose is widely known in India and outside as a great political leader and the leader of the I.N.A. (the Indian National Army); before he organized the I.N.A., Bose had played an important part in Indian politics (having resigned from the Indian Civil Service in 1921), presiding over several Conferences and delivering a number of speeches. He presided over the fifty first session of the Indian National Congress in 1938, and was elected to preside over another at Tripura 1939, but he resigned his presidentship on account of differences with the Congress Working Committee.

Subhas Chandra Bose's speeches and writings have been collected and published by several publishers ; perhaps the most authoritative is *Selected Speeches of Subhas Chandra Bose* [Delhi, Publications Division, Government of India, 1962].

Chintamani, Chirravuri Yagnesvara [1880–1941]—General Secretary, National Liberal Federation 1918–20, 1923–29 ; Minister of Education and Industries, U.P. Government 1921–23.

His publications include *Indian Social Reform* (1901), and *Speeches and Writings of Sir Pherozeshah Mehta* (1904).

Das, Chitta Ranjan [1870–1925]—By profession a lawyer, C. R. Das entered politics in 1917 and continued his interest in it till his death in 1925. In 1917 he presided over the Bengal Provincial Conference; he took part in the Calcutta session of the Indian National Congress the same year. When the National Congress adopted in 1920 Gandhi's programme of non-cooperation, Das boycotted the courts and later was sentenced to some months imprisonment for disobedience of Government orders. He was elected President of the Indian National Congress at Ahmedabad in 1921, but he could not actually preside over it as he was a prisoner. After his release, he advocated non-cooperation from within, meaning thereby that the Government should be fought from within the Legislative Councils, the boycott of the Councils being lifted. This led later to the formation of the Swaraj Party and Das its leader in Bengal until he passed away in 1925.

The political thinking of Das has been gleaned from the various Addresses he delivered at the National Congress and the Bengal Provincial Conference conveniently collected in one volume entitled *Deshabandhu Das Chitta Ranjan. Being Survey of Life and Work, Provincial Conference Speeches, Congress Speeches* (1927).

Dayananda, Swami [1824–83]—Swami Dayananda [Mula-shankara was his boyhood name before he became a *Sanyasin* (a saint) and assumed the name of Dayananda. Swami is a title of reverence] was the founder of the Hindu reformist movement known as the Arya Samaj in 1875. Born in Gujarat in 1824, he began early in his boyhood to doubt the efficacy of idol-worship and several other religious practices of the Hindus and decided to become a seeker after truth. Spending years in studying the Hindu religious scriptures at the feet of teachers, he established the Arya Samaj to spread his ideas of social emancipation from irrational conventions and superstitions.

His basic work is *Satyarth Prakash* (the Light of Truth). Chapter VI of this work is devoted to Raja Dharma or Science of Government.

Deva, Acharya, Narendra—A leading architect of the socialist movement in India, he helped to organize the Socialist Party, along with Jaya Prakash Narayan and Ram Manohar Lohia [The party was later renamed the Praja Socialist Party] ; an ardent supporter of democratic socialism.

Narendra Deva's political ideas are best studied from his book, *Socialism and The National Revolution* (1946).

Dhebar, U. N. [b. 1905]—Took active part in the Congress and in the Satyagraha movement, and was imprisoned thrice during 1936–39 ; Chief Minister of Saurashtra, 1948–54 ; President Indian National Congress 1957–59.

Dutt, Romesh Chander [1848–1909]—R. C. Dutt is one of the small company of Indian administrators who not only did their work conscientiously but also took interest in literature and in social and economic reforms and, after retirement, in the political movement for self-government. A member of the Indian Civil Service, he rose to the rank of Commissioner of a Division, considered in those days a rare distinction for an Indian member of the Service. He resigned from the Service as soon as he had completed the minimum number of years prescribed for retirement with full pension and devoted the rest of his life to public work. He took particular interest both while in service and later in the improvement in the condition of the peasants and in agrarian reforms. He was President of the Indian National Congress held at Lucknow in 1898.

Among his publications are *The History of Civilization in Ancient India* (1889) and *History of India* (2 Vols. 1901, 1903). His political ideas are gleaned from his *Speeches and Papers on Indian Questions*, 1897 to 1900 (1902).

Gajendragadkar, P. B. [b. 1901]—Chief Justice of India 1964–66, author of *Law, Liberty and Justice* (1965).

Gandhi, M. K. [1869–1948]—Affectionately called Father of the Nation; led the Satyagraha movement in South Africa; started and led the non-cooperation movement in India 1920–21; was associated with the Khilafat agitation 1920–21; President, Indian National Congress 1924 ; inaugurated campaign for breach of salt laws 1930; was delegate to the Round Table Conference at London 1931 ; imprisoned 1932–33 and 1942–44; fasted several times for such purposes

as preventing the creation of separate electorates for the Scheduled Castes and for promoting Hindu-Muslim Unity; was assassinated on 30 January 1948.

Among his more well-known works are : *The Story of my Experiments with Truth* (1927–29), *Hind Swaraj* (1939), and *Satyagraha in South Africa* (1950). Gandhi expressed his ideas on Satyagraha in the three well-known journals *Young India*, *Harijan* and *Navajivan*. *The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi*, now in course of publication, is an authoritative edition of his works.

Gokhale, G. K. [1866–1915]—best known in India as the founder (in 1905) of the Servants of India Society, whose members are dedicated to the service of India. A graduate at 18, and Professor at 20, he occupied distinguished positions in public life : Secretary of the Bombay Provincial Conference at 25, Secretary of the Indian National Congress at 34, Member of the Imperial Legislative Council at 36 and President of the Indian National Congress at 39.

Gokhale's political ideas are gleaned from the several speeches he delivered in the Imperial Legislative Council and at several conferences, provincial and national, in which he participated. The papers which he read before such organizations as the New Reform Club, London on social and political problems are also valuable data for the student of his ideas.

Among his collected works the most useful are: *Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (1920) and two volumes of his speeches and writings [Asia Publishing House, 1962 and 1966].

Golwalkar, M. S. [b. 1906]—is known chiefly as the Chief Organizer of the R.S.S. (Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh).

His publications include *We or our Nationhood Defined* and *Speeches of Swami Vivekanand at the Chicago Conference*. His political ideas have been gathered from a collection of his speeches entitled *Not Socialism but Hindu Rashtra* (1964) and a collection of letters between him and the Government 1945-49 entitled *Justice on Trial* (1958).

Husain, Syed Abid [b. 1896]—Professor, Jamia Millia, New Delhi.

Has published a number of books including *The Way of Gandhiji and Nehru* (1959) and *The Destiny of Indian Muslims* (1956).

Iqbal, Sir Mahomed [1877-1938]—Muslim poet and philosopher. President, All-India Muslim League, 1930.

His publications include *Six Lectures on the Reconstruction of Religious Thought in Islam* (1939).

Jinnah, Mohamad Ali [1876-1948]—Pre-eminent leader of Muslims and founder of Pakistan. President, All-India Muslim League, 1916, 1920 and 1934-47. Delegate, Indian Round Table Conference, 1930-32.

Some Recent Speeches and Writings of Mr. Jinnah (1942) contains the main material on which a study of his political ideas is based.

Kripalani, Acharya J. B. [b. 1888]—General Secretary of the Indian National Congress 1934-36 ; elected President Indian National Congress 1946 and resigned November 1947 ; Chairman, Praja Socialist Party for some years till December 1954.

His publications include *Gandhi The Statesman* (1951). His speeches and writings during the year of his Presidentship of the Congress, published under the title *Fateful Year* (1948), may also be consulted.

Kunzru, Pandit Hridayanath [b. 1887]—President, Servants of India Society since 1936 ; Member Rajya Sabha 1952-62 ; President Indian Council of World Affairs since 1948.

Lajpat Rai [1865-1928]—An ardent social and religious reformer, Lajpat Rai early realized that without political freedom, the reforms in which he was interested could not easily be carried out. He therefore participated in the national movement led by the Indian National Congress. He presided over the special session of the Congress at Calcutta in 1920 to consider the non-cooperation programme proposed by M. K. Gandhi. On the social and religious front, Lajpat Rai was closely associated with the Arya Samaj movement.

Lajpat Rai *Autobiographical Writings*, edited by V. C. Joshi [Delhi, University Publishers, 1966] and Lala Lajpat Rai *Writings and Speeches* 2 Vols., edited by V. C. Joshi (Delhi University Publishers, 1966) are the best available material on Lala Lajpat Rai's speeches and writings.

Lohia, Ram Manohar [1910-1969]—Helped found the Congress Socialist Party 1934 ; General Secretary, Praja Socialist Party 1954; Chairman Socialist Party 1956.

His publications include *Marx, Gandhi and Socialism* (1963).

Malabari, Behramji M. [1853-1912]—Born at Baroda in 1853, Mr. Malabari was a naturally gifted child and shared his powers in poetry and later made his mark in journalism. His main place in history is the remarkable work he did in reminding Hindu society (he was himself a Parsi) of the twin evils from which it then suffered, viz. early marriage and the plight of young widows; and he did this mainly through his weekly *The Indian Spectator*, which the Indian *Statesman* called 'the best paper in India'.

The best single work which gives a life-sketch of Malabari together with a selection of his relevant writings is the work entitled *The Life and Life-work of Behramji M. Malabari* by Dayaram Gidumal (1888).

Malaviya, Pandit Madan Mohan [1861-1946]—Member, the United Provinces Legislative Council 1909-12 ; Imperial Legislative Council 1910-19 ; Vice-Chancellor, Benares Hindu University, 1919-39 ; Indian Legislative Assembly 1924-30. President, Indian National Congress, 1909, 1918 and 1933; President Hindu Mahasabha, 1923, 1924 and 1936.

The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya His Life and Speeches (n. d.) has been consulted for studying his political ideas.

Mashruwala, K. G. [1890-1952]—For some time Editor of the *Harijan ;* contributed several Articles to that paper more especially in 1948 and 1950.

Mehta, Asoka [b. 1911]—Economist and politician ; Chairman Praja Socialist Party 1959-60 ; Deputy Chairman, Planning Commission 1963-66 and Minister for Planning 1966.

His publications include *Democratic Socialism* (1951) and *Politics of Planned Economy* (1953).

Mehta, Pherozeshah [1845-1915]—A born leader, P. Mehta distinguished himself as a lawyer, and even more as a debater and great public worker. Member and thrice Chairman of the Bombay Municipal Corporation, Member of the Bombay Legislative Council and the Viceregal Legislative Council, Mehta made constructive contributions to many matters of public importance, including education, revenue and other financial questions, municipal reform, censorship of the press, and the position of the agriculturist. He was closely connected

with the Indian National Congress, and was elected to its presidentship twice in 1890 and 1909.

His speeches and writings have been brought together in two volumes: *Speeches and Writings of the Honourable Sir Pherozeshah Mehta K.C.I.E.* (1905) and *Some Unpublished and later Speeches and Writings of The Hon. Sir Pherozeshah Mehta* (1918).

Mohamed Ali [1878-1931]—President, Indian National Congress 1923 ; remembered in contemporary history for his advocacy of the Khilafat cause 1920 ; supported the movement for non-cooperation started by M. K. Gandhi in 1920.

MRT—He contributed Articles to the *Eastern Times* (Calcutta) in 1940. Author of a book entitled *Nationalism in Conflict in India.* M.R.T. is a pseudonym; the identity of the author is not known.

Nair, C. Sankaran [1857-1934]—President of the Indian National Congress held at Amraoti in 1897.

Namboodiripad, E.M.S. [b. 1909]—Chief Minister, Kerala 1957-59, and again 1967-69; Acting General Secretary, Indian Communist Party 1962.

His publications include *The National Question in Kerala* and *Mahatma and the Ism.*

Naoroji, Dadabhai [1825-1917]—Pioneer Indian statesman, often called 'the Grand Old Man of India'. Thrice presided over the sessions of the Indian National Congress in 1886, 1893 and 1906. Enunciated, for the first time, Congress goal as one of Swaraj or independence. As member of Parliament, and as leading member of the British Committee of the Congress in London, rendered yeoman service to the cause of India and the people of Indian origin in South Africa.

Naoroji's political ideas are gleaned mainly from his *Poverty and UnBritish Rule in India* (1901), E*ssays, Speeches and Addresses and Writings (on Indian Politics) of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji* (1887) and Dadabhai Naoroji *Speeches and Writings* (1917).

Narayan, Jayaprakash [b. 1902.]—J. P., as Jayaprakash Narayan is familiarly known, has devoted his entire life to public work : in 1921, he joined the freedom fighters under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi, and became acting General Secretary of the Indian National Congress in 1932 ; he spent some months in prison; in cooperation with Acharya Narendra Deva and others who shared his view, he organized

the Congress Socialist Party in 1934 and became its General Secretary. Since then, more especially through the Sarvodaya organization, he has been working, as the name of the organization suggests, for the welfare of all.

J. P's significant writings have been brought together in a volume entitled *Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy*, edited by Bimla Prasad (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1964).

Nehru, Jawaharlal [1889-1964]—Educated at Harrow and Trinty College, Cambridge; Barrister-at-Law; Secretary Home Rule League ; associated with labour and nationalist movements ; imprisoned on several occasions for political activities ; President of the Indian National Congress 1929, 1936, 1937, 1946 and 1951 ; President All-India States Peoples Conference ; Vice-President, Interim Government and Member for External Affairs 1946 ; Prime Minister and Minister of External Affairs 1947-64 ; Minister of Defence 1953-54 and 1962 ; Minister of Finance 1962.

Among his works may be mentioned: *Autobiography* (1936), *Glimpses of World History* (1939) and *Discovery of India* (1946). His Essays and Speeches have been collected and published by several publishers—see Source Materials (pp. 176-7). *Nehru The First Sixty Years* (1965) deserves special mention.

Pal, Bipin Chandra [1858-1932]—A journalist by profession, B. C. Pal was connected as Editor to several papers, among the most important of them being *New India*, which he started in 1901 ; in addition he also contributed to such leading papers as the *Englishman* and the *Statesman*. Apart from his writings in these papers and in the well-known *Modern Review*, he also used his great oratorical powers to educate the people on the public questions of the day and to demand self-government from alien rule. He participated in several sessions of the Indian National Congress and contributed through it also to the development of Indian nationalism.

A selection from his writings and speeches was published under the title *The New Spirit* (1907).

Pal, Kristodas [1839-1884]—Editor of the *Hindoo Patriot*, Calcutta, which has been described as a top-ranking Indian paper of the time.

The speeches which he delivered at the Calcutta Trade's Dinner (1875) and at some public meetings are available

in *Indian Speeches and Documents on British Rule 1918-1921* (1937).

Panikkar, Kavalam Madhava [1895-1963]—Secretary to the Chancellor, Chamber of Princes; Foreign Minister Patiala; Member of the Indian Delegation to United Nations General Assembly in 1947; Ambassador to China 1948-52; Member, States Reorganization Commission 1954-56.

His publications include *Caste and Democracy* (1933) and *Asia and Western Dominance* (1953).

Pant, Govind Ballabh [1887-1961]—Leader of the Swarajist Party in the United Provinces Legislative Council, 1929-30 ; Deputy Leader of the Party in the Indian Legislative Assembly 1934 ; Chief Minister, the United Provinces 1938-39 and again in 1946. Member, from 1931, of the All-India Congress Working Committee; Minister for Home Affairs, Government of India 1955-61.

Paranjpye, R. P. [1876-1966]—Principal and Professor of Mathematics, Fergusson College, Poona ; Vice-Chancellor of Indian Women's University, Poona 1916-20 and later of Lucknow University 1932-38 ; Minister, Bombay Government 1921-23, 1927.

Author of *Gopal Krishna Gokhale* (Poona, The Aryabhushan Press, 1918) and *The Crux of the Indian Problem* (London, Watts & Co., 1931)

Prasad, Dr. Rajendra [1884-1963]—President, Indian National Congress 1934, 1939 and 1947 ; Minister for Food and Agriculture 1946-48 ; President of India 1952-62.

His publications include *India Divided* (1946) and *At the Feet of Mahatma Gandhi* (1961).

Pyarelal [b.1899]—Private Secretary to Mahatma Gandhi for several years ; Editor of *Young India* 1932 and *Harijan* 1946-48.

His publications include *Epic Fast* (1932), *Pilgrimage for Peace* (1950) and *Mahatma Gandhi : The Last Phase*.

Radhakrishnan, Sarvapalli [b. 1888]—A distinguished philosopher, Professor Radhakrishnan has also been interested in the practical bearing of philosophy on life as his several writings illustrate. After serving as Professor of Philosophy/ Vice-Chancellor in several Indian universities, Dr. Radhakrishnan occupied for some years the chair of Comparative

Religion and Ethics at Oxford. After India attained independence, his services were requisitioned in the political field : he was for some time India's Ambassador at Moscow (1949-52) and Vice President of India (1952-62) and was President of India from 1962-67.

Prof. Radhakrishnan's major works include *Indian Philosophy* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1941), *The Hindu View of Life* (London, Allen & Unwin, 1957) and *The Religion We Need* (1928).

Rajagopalachari, Chakravarti [b. 1879.]—C. R. as Rajagopalachari is familiarly known, gave up his legal profession in response to Mahatma Gandhi's call for non-cooperation in the twenties and played a notable part in the first satyagraha movement. A close associate of Gandhi, he did not hesitate to differ from him, indeed according to Gandhi's principles of truth in which he believed. Chief Minister of Madras 1937-39, and Governor-General of India 1948-50, in later years he became a powerful critic of the Nehru government and founded the Swatantra party in opposition.

His writings on social and political subjects have been collected under the title *Satyam Eva Jayate* (1961) and his speeches in *Rajaji's Speeches* (1958).

Ranade, Mahadev Govind [1842-1901]—Religious and social reformer, historian and public worker of eminence; became judge of the Bombay High Court in 1893; took a prominent part in founding the Indian National Congress along with Dadabhai Naoroji, Hume and Wedderburn.

Among his publications are *Rise of the Mahratta Power* (1900), *Religious and Social Reform; A Collection of Essays and Speeches* (1902).

Rao, Venkata—A contributor to the *Swaraja* in 1963.

Roy, Raja Rammohun [1772-1833]—Widely considered as the father of modern Indian Renaissance, Rammohun Roy will be remembered in history for his active association with two reforms : the abolition of *suttee* (the practice of the widow being burnt on her husband's funeral pyre) and the introduction of English or Western Education. Born in 1772 (according to some, 1774), he showed early promise of his great intellectual gifts, studied Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian, in addition to Bengali and used his linguistic knowledge to make a comparative study of religions. The study led him

to discover the fundamental unity of all religions in one principle, the unity of God. Roy also founded the Brahmo Samaj, an organization intended to focus attention on the worship of one God.

The collections of Rammohun Roy's writings include *The English Works of Raja Rammohun Roy* (Calcutta, Haran Brahmo Samaj, 1934), and *Raja Rammohun Roy and Progressive Movements in India : A Collection from Records 1775-1845*, ed. J. K. Majumdar (Calcutta, Art Press, 1941).

Ruthnaswamy, Mariadas [b.1885]—Professor and Educationist; Member Rajya Sabha since 1962.

His publications include *Political Philosophy of Gandhi* (1923) and *The Making of the State* (1932).

Sastri, The Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa [1869-1946]—President, Servants of India Society 1915-27, member Imperial Legislative Council 1916-20; delivered the Kamala Lectures to the Calcutta University on 'The Rights and Duties of Indian Citizenship', since published in book form; High Commissioner for India in South Africa 1927-29.

Speeches and Writings of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri (n. d.) and *Letters of Right Honourable V. S. Srinivasa Sastri* (1944) are useful collections to enable the student to understand Sastri's political ideas.

Satthianadhan, S.—Professor of Philosophy, Presidency College, Madras. Contributed a paper 'Social Intercourse between Europeans and Indians' to a collection of Essays, Addresses, Speeches etc. entitled *Indian Social Reform* (1901).

Savarkar, Vinayak Damodar [1883-1966]—Well known as a fighter for India's freedom from British rule and as President of the Hindu Mahasabha ; started the Free India Society in London, while a student there ; wrote *The First War of Independence 1857* ; arrested in England in 1910 ; and later he escaped ; sentenced in 1910 in India to transportation for life for his complicity in the murder of the Collector of Poona ; released in 1924 but interned in the Ratnagiri district till 1937 ; President, Hindu Mahasabha for several years.

Savarkar's political ideas are best gathered from *Samagra Savarkar Wangmaya* Hindu Rashtra Darshan Vol. VI (1964).

Sayani, Rahmatullah Muhammad [1847-1902]—Member of the

Legislative Council of Bombay and the Governor-General's Council; President of the Indian National Congress held in Calcutta in 1896.

Sinha, Sir S. P. [1864-1928]—President, Indian National Congress, 1915.

Soman, R. J.—A contributor to the *Harijan* in 1950.

Tagore, Rabindranath [1861-1941]—Born and brought up in a family which had for two generations been the recognized leaders of Bengal in social and cultural matters, Tagore played a notable part in the Renaissance of Indian thought and literature; Tagore started writing at an early age—it has been estimated that he produced 25 volumes of poetry, 5 novels, 15 plays and 5 volumes of essays; was awarded the Nobel Prize for literature in 1913 for *Gitanjali;* founded the Visvabharati University.

Although he is primarily known as a great poet, his political writings have also attracted attention; among them the most notable are *Nationalism* (1920), *Letters from Russia* (1960) and *Towards Universal Man* (1961).

Telang, Kashinath Trimbak [1853-93]—A noted public leader from Bombay; was for some time Secretary to the Bombay Branch of the East India Association, and later of the Bombay Presidency Association; took an active part in sending memorials to the Government on important economic and political questions like Free Trade and Protection, the Ilbert Bill etc.; member of the Education Commission 1883-84; sometime Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University and of the Bombay Legislative Council; Judge of the Bombay High Court 1889-93.

Telang's social and political ideas may be gleaned from *Selected Writings and Speeches by K. T. Telang*, 2 vols. (n. d.).

Tilak, Bal Gangadhar [1856-1920]—Great Indian political leader, scholar and writer, popularly known as 'Lokamanya', 'respected of the people'; one of the founders of the Deccan Education Society, Poona, and of the influential newspapers the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* ; suffered six years' deportation for articles in the former in criticism of the Government; led the 'extremist' school in the Indian National Congress, which, after the Surat split with the 'Moderates', he rejoined in 1916 ; founded the Home Rule League and took a leading

part in forging the Lucknow Hindu-Muslim Pact; visited England as one of the Congress delegates to educate British opinion concerning Indian reactions to the Government of India Act, 1919; author of *The Gita Rahasya*, the *Orion* and *The Arctic Home in the Vedas* and other works.

Tilak's social and political ideas are gleaned from his articles in the *Kesari* and the *Mahratta* and from a collection of his writings and speeches entitled *Bal Gangadhar Tilak, His Writings and Speeches* (1922).

Vijayaraghavachariar, C.—President, Indian National Congress held at Nagpur 1920.

Vivekananda, Swami [1863-1902]—Vivekananda became known to the world through his well-known address at the Parliament of Religions at Chicago in 1893; as an interpreter of Hindu culture the Swami has perhaps few equals; he was an ardent disciple of Sri Ramakrishna; he pleaded for a social order which would combine the best in Indian culture and the secular progress of the West; by founding the Ramakrishna Mission in 1897, he has done great work in the field of social service in India.

The Swami's writings have been published by the Ramakrishna Mission in eight volumes: *The Complete Works of Swami Vivekananda* (1950-51).

REFERENCES

For the explanation of abbreviations, see Source Materials and Key to Abbreviations used in Footnotes, pp. 173-7

INTRODUCTION

[1]BSW
[2]GA Vol. 2, pp. 106-8; YI, (1924-6) pp. 956-7.
[3]Broadcast on British Broadcasting Service, from London, 12.1.51.
[4]RRREW, Part 3, p. 37

CHAPTER 1

[1]GS, pp. 942-5
[2]NTF, pp. 269-75
[3]CPA (1st. Series), p. 324
[4]NTF, pp. 275-85
[5]GS
[6]NPURI, pp. 203-7
[7]TCIC, pp. 12-17
[8]GS, pp. 942-5
[9]NPURI, pp. 203-7
[10]NTF, pp. 275-84
[11]CPA, Series 2, pp. 230-1
[12]House of Commons Debates, 19.2.18.
[13]NTF, pp. 275-84
[14]GS, pp. 925-8
[15]NPURI, pp. xii-xiii
[16]TCIC, pp. 12-17
[17]NPURI, pp. 203-7
[18]APSIP, pp. 37-53
[19]MSW, pp. 164-6
[20]DSPIQ, pp. 28-30
[21]MLS, pp. 300-2
[22]BSW, p. 119
[23]DSPIQ, pp. 14-20
[24]ISDBR, pp. 96-8, 127-8
[25]NPURI, p. 640
[26]BLS, pp. 175-9, 280-1
[27]CPA, 1st. Series, p. 272
[28]GS, p. 659
[29]BLS, pp. 287-98
[30]ISR, Part 1, pp. 245-8
[31]GS, pp. 1018-19
[32]Cited in C. H. Heimsath: *Indian Nationalism and Hindu Social Reform* (Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 164
[33]Ibid.
[34]RRSR, pp. 100-14
[35]Ibid.
[36]Ibid.
[37]Ibid.
[38]Ibid.
[39]Ibid.
[40]Ibid.
[41]Ibid.
[42]Ibid.
[43]Ibid.
[44]GLLM, pp. 86-8
[45]ASISM, pp. 3-10
[46]PHSCR, pp. 55-62

CHAPTER 2

[1]NESAW, pp. 320-1
[2]I bid.
[3]GLT, p. 283
[4]MMANTIP, pp. 22-7
[5]Ibid.
[6]BSW, pp. 136-41
[7]Ibid.
[8]Ibid.
[9]APSIP, pp. 37-53
[10]TSWS, Vol. I, pp. 259-99
[11]Ibid.
[12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid.
[14]Ibid. pp. 256-7
[15]Ibid, pp. 259-99
[16]Ibid.
[17]MMANTIP, pp. 379-80
[18]ARGJ, pp. 32-9

CHAPTER 3

[1]SSW, pp. 102-3
[2]ARGJ, pp. 53-5
[3]CIPSM, pp. 221-2
[4]TLT, pp. 128-30; PBLTAB, p. 181
[5]NBOL, p. 142
[6]CIPSM, p. 221
[7]MLS, pp. 144-57
[8]AS, pp. 141-5
[9]GSW (4/e), pp. 242-7
[10]Ibid.
[11]Ibid.
[12]Ibid.
[13]MLS, pp. 579-83
[14]BSB, pp. 34-5
[15]LPFI, pp. 156-63, 181-9
[16]Ibid.
[17]Ibid.
[18]NTF, pp. 133-4
[19]KGS, p. 18

CHAPTER 4

[1]YI, 5 November 1931, p. 341
[2]GYM, pp. 8-9
[3]YI, (1919-22), p. 222
[4]YI, 9 June 1920, p. 3
[5]YI, (1919-22), p. 223
[6]YI, 14 August 1920, p. 3
[7]YI, 23 March 1921, pp. 89-90
[8]YI, 17 July 1924, pp. 236-7
[9]H, 9 July 1938, p. 173
[10]YI, 19 March 1925, pp. 94-5
[11]YI, 4 June 1925, p. 189
[12]GSSA, pp. 208-10
[13]GSW (4/e), pp. 361-4
[14]Ibid.
[15]GYM, pp. 8-9
[16]GSW (4/e), pp. 251-2
[17]Ibid.
[18]YI, 11 August 1920, p. 3
[19]H, 17 August 1935, p. 211
[20]YI, 8 October 1925, p. 346
[21]YI, 29 October 1931, p. 325
[22]H, 16 May 1936, p. 109
[23]GSSA, pp. 182-3, 187-8
[24]H, 12 November 1938, p. 328
[25]YI, 31 December 1931, pp. 426-7
[26]YI, (1919-22), pp. 297-9
[27]GHOS, pp. 121-35
[28]Ibid.
[29]GA, Vol 2, pp. 509-12
[30]GSSA, pp. 113-15
[31]GCW, Vol 7, pp. 255-6
[32]H, 10 April 1937, p. 68
[33]H, 26 July 1942, p. 248
[34]H, 11 February 1933, p. 2
[35]H, 9 September 1933, p. 4
[36]GCU, pp. 47-9
[37]Ibid.
[38]Ibid, pp. 142-3
[39]H, 2 September 1939, p. 260
[40]BAI, pp. 37-8
[41]Ibid
[42]H, 3 July 1954, pp. 142-3
[43]PFMG, pp. 326-7
[44]APR, pp. 12-79
[45]Ibid.
[46]Ibid.
[47]Ibid.
[48]TWS, pp. 64-5
[49]Ibid, pp. 261-3
[50]GS, pp. 954-6
[51]SSW, pp. 210-15
[52]RPPG, p. 47
[53]BNM, p. 302
[54]RPPG, p. 47
[55]Ibid, p. 52
[56]Ibid, p. 59
[57]GSSA, p. 285
[58]H, 23 October 1937, p. 308
[59]H, 24 September 1938, p. 266
[60]H, 27 May 1939, p. 136
[61]GERLW, p. 285
[62]SL, pp. 97-8
[63]H, 3 December 1939, p. 358
[64]RRWN, p. 352

CHAPTER 5

[1]HRD, Vol VI, pp. 317-20
[2]AS, pp. 6, 21-5
[3]Ibid.
[4]PNS, pp. i-ii
[5]TN, p. 123
[6]Ibid, pp. 131-4
[7]NSBHR, pp. 24-3
[8]Ibid.
[9]IPFC, pp. 131-4
[10]Ibid, pp. 51-6
[11]Ibid, pp. 42-9
[12]MNI, pp. 9-11
[13]AIWF, p. 227
[14]AHF, pp. 289-90
[15]TN, pp. 122-6

CHAPTER 6

[1]AICCER, 15 August 1958, pp. 3-6
[2]RRRR, Vol II, pp. 250-310
[3]BIMG, p. 412
[4]GSA, p. 52
[5]BBY, pp. 66-9
[6]H, 29 June 1935, p. 156
[7]H, 23 February 1947, p. 36
[8]H, 31 March 1946, p. 63
[9]GCP, pp. 20-1
[10]H, 25 August 1940, pp. 260-1
[11]Ibid.
[12]Ibid.
[13]RSEJ, Vol. I, pp. 264-5
[14]NTF, pp. 137-40
[15]Ibid.
[16]Ibid.
[17]H, 4 April 1953, pp. 37-8
[18]Ibid.
[19]TLR, pp. 137-40
[20]Ibid.
[21]Ibid.
[22]NSSD, pp. 59-62
[23]Ibid.
[24]PFMG, p. 328
[25]NVA, pp. 26-9
[26]H, 24 February 1940,GSA, pp.59-61
[27]NGWH, pp. 502-4
[28]NTF, pp. 314-26
[29]Ibid.
[30]H, 15 December 1951, p. 357
[31]ZRR, p. 253
[32]TGR, Vol. I, pp. 114-28
[33]Ibid
[34]TGR Vol, 1, pp. 114-25
[35]Ibid.
[36]Ibid.
[37]Ibid.
[38]TGR, Vol, 1, pp. 114-28
[39]RSEJ, Vol 1, pp. 66-7
[40]YI, 6 August 1926, p. 276
[41]PCIP, pp. 1-116
[42]H, 9 January 1949, pp. 376-7
[43]RSEJ, Vol 1, pp. 488-90
[44]RSEJ, Vol. I, pp. 549-51
[45]MASSH, pp. 107-13; 119-25

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[1]H, 27 May 1939, p. 143
[2]NS, Vol. III, pp. 139-44
[3]ARD, p. v
[4]NSSD, pp. 192-3
[5]NSSD, pp. 194-224
[6]Ibid.
[7]Ibid
[8]YI, 2 December 1921, p. 403
[9]PCGGI, Vol. XXII, p. 20
[10]SRSWJ, p. 41
[11]AGEU, pp. 24-30
[12]H, 23 May 1953, p. 94
[13]Ibid.
[14]PEF, p. 102
[15]H, 27 May 1939, p. 143
[16]RSEJ, Vol. I, pp. 149-5
[17]Ibid.
[18]LCYI, pp. 337-9
[19]S, 21 July 1962, p. 1.
[20]PS, pp. 141-2

[21]Ibid.
[22]NS, 1949-53, p. 95
[23]NSSD, pp. 194-224
[24]RSEJ, Vol. 2, pp. 816-20
[25]MMANTIP, pp. 156-9
[26]H, 11 January 1936, p. 380
[27]H, 27 May 1939, p. 136
[28]GDD, p. 18
[29]RS, Vol. I, pp. 189-91
[30]Cited by A. Adil in AICCER, 15 February 1958, pp. 34-8
[31]H, 6 February 1954, p. 385
[32]H, 20 September 1952, pp. 254-5
[33]LMGS, pp. 222-41
[34]Ibid.
[35]Ibid.
[36]Ibid
[37]Ibid.
[38]Ibid.
[39]H, 26 January 1952, pp. 407-8
[40]Ibid.
[41]H, 20 December 1952, p. 368

CHAPTER 8

[1]H, 13 July 1947, p. 232
[2]NSSD, pp. 132 and 134-6
[3]NS, Vol. III, pp. 52-4
[4]MSAS, p.51
[5]LCYI, pp. 83-5
[6]NTF, p. 139
[7]LMGS, pp. 320-2
[8]Ibid.
[9]LASP, pp. 80 ff.
[10]LMGS, pp. 320-89
[11]NSSD
[12]NSSD, p. 108
[13]NSSD, pp. 100-18
[14]Ibid.
[15]NSSD, p. 113
[16]LMGS, pp. 320-49
[17]NS, 1949-53, pp. 13-18
[18]NS, Vol. I. pp. 140-3
[19]GLLSJ, pp. 145-7
[20]Ibid.
[21]ICPD, pp. 5-20
[22]NA, Vol. VII, pp. 5-6
[23]H, 1 August 1953, pp. 169-70
[24]DSNR, pp. 20-1
[25]AICCER, 15 August 1958, pp. 5-6
[26]H, 16 October 1945, p. 285.
[27]AICCER 15 August 1958, pp. 3-6
[28]H, 13 March 1937, p. 40
[29]YI, 21 November 1929, p. 384
[30]BSC, pp. 37-8
[31]RS, Vol. 1, pp. 192-3
[32]RSEJ, Vol. II, pp. 792-4
[33]NSSD, p. 161
[34]NSSD, p. 160
[35]NSSD, p. 161
[36]GC, p. 173
[37]GSA, pp. 190-1
[38]GSA, pp. 179-82
[39]NSSD, p. 188

CHAPTER 9

[1]MMANTIP, pp, 128-30
[2]Ibid.
[3]YI, 12 May 1920, p. 2
[4]Sabarmati 1928, pp. 17-19 cited in BSG, pp. 226-7
[5]H, 10 February 1940, p. 445
[6]GHOS, p. 338
[7]H, 24 December 1938, p. 393
[8]H, 16 March 1947, p. 63
[9]H, 23 March 1947, p. 76
[10]IPFC, pp. 51-6
[11]NS, Vol. I, pp. 73-8
[12]ROSW, pp. 282-6
[13]RRWN, pp. 23-5

CHAPTER 10

[1]TN, pp. 3-46
[2]Ibid.
[3]Ibid.
[4]DS, pp. 18-23
[5]Ibid.
[6]DS, pp. 189-90
[7]AWS, pp. 11-18
[8]Ibid.
[9]NVA, pp. 31-3
[10]H, 8 January 1950, p. 388
[11]Ibid.
[12]Ibid.
[13]PIB, 23 December 1954
[14]Address to the Indian Council of World Affairs, 5 April 1960
[15]NVA, pp. 87-8
[16]AIHU, pp. 21-30

CHAPTER 11

[1]ASFIP, pp. 11-14, 85-91
[2]Ibid, pp. 11-14
[3]Ibid., pp. 11-14, 85-91
[4]DLT, pp. 161-202
[5]Ibid.
[6]Ibid.
[7]Ibid.
[8]VMI, pp. 21-75
[9]Ibid.
[10]Ibid.
[11]Ibid.
[12]Ibid.
[13]Ibid.
[14]Ibid.
[15]Ibid.
[16]Ibid.
[17]Ibid.
[18]ASFIP, pp. 11-14, 85-91
[19]APSIP, pp. 37-53

Source Materials and Key to Abbreviations Used in Footnotes

AGEU—*Mr. Gandhi and the Emancipation of the Untouchables* by the Hon'ble Dr. B. R. Ambedkar (Bombay, Thacker & Co. Ltd., 1943).

AHF—*The History of Freedom and other Essays* by Lord Acton (London, Macmillan & Co., 1907)

AICCER—*A. I. C. C. Economic Review*, New Delhi.

AIHU—*The Ideal of Human Unity* by Sri Aurobindo. 2nd Revised Edition. (Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1950).

AIWF—*India Wins Freedom* by Maulana Abul Kalam Azad (Bombay, Orient Longmans, 1959).

APR—Sri Aurobindo, *The Doctrine of Passive Resistance*. 2nd Edition (Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1952).

APSIP—*The Present State of Indian Politics* by Sir Syed Ahmed. Consisting of Speeches and Letters Reprinted from the 'Pioneer' (Allahabad, Printed at the Pioneer Press, 1888).

ARD—*Revision of Democracy* by A. Appadorai (Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1940).

ARGJ—*Ranade, Gandhi and Jinnah* by B. R. Ambedkar (Bombay, Thacker & Co. Ltd., 1943).

AS—Sri Aurobindo, *Speeches*. 3rd Edition (Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1952).

ASFIP—Sri Aurobindo, *The Spirit and Form of Indian Polity*. 1st Edition (Calcutta, Arya Publishing House, 1947).

ASISM—*A Lecture on State Interference in Social Matters in India* (12th December 1890) by A. Subrahmanya Aiyar (Madras, Srinivasa Varadachari & Co. 1891).

AWS—Sri Aurobindo, *War and Self-determination.* 3rd Edition (Pondicherry, Sri Aurobindo Ashram, 1957).

BAI—*Before and After Independence.* A Collection of the Most Important and soul-stirring speeches delivered by Jawaharlal Nehru 1922-1950. Edited by J. S. Bright, Vols. I and II (New Delhi, The Indian Printing Works, n. d.).

BBY—*Bhoodan Yajna* by Vinoba Bhave (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1953).

BIMG—'An interview with Mahatma Gandhi' by Nirmal Kumar Bose, in *Modern Review,* June-December, 1935, pp. 410-13.

BLS—*Lights and Shades of the East: A Study of the Life of Baboo Harrishchander; and Passing Thoughts on India and Its people, Their Present and Future* by Framji Bomanji (Bombay, Alliance Press, 1863).

BNM—*A Nation in Making: Being the Reminiscences of Fifty Years of Public Life* by Sri Surendranath Banerjea (Bombay, Oxford University Press, 1925).

BSB—*Swadeshi and Boycott.* Ed. Subhas Chandra Bose (Calcutta, Liberty Newspapers Limited, 1931).

BSC—*Sarvodaya and Communism* by Vinoba Bhave (A.B.S.S.S.) (Tanjore, Sarvodaya Prachurlaya, 1958)

BSG—*Selections from Gandhi* by Nirmal Kumar Bose (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1948).

BSW—*Speeches and Writings of Hon. Surendranath Banerjea.* Selected by Himself. 1st Edition (Madras, G. A. Natesan & Co., n. d.).

CIPSM—*Indian Politics since the Mutiny* by Sir C. Yajneswara Chintamani (Allahabad, Kitabistan, 1937).

CPA—*Congress Presidential Addresses from the Foundation to the Silver Jubilee.* First Series (Madras, G.A. Natesan & Co., n. d.). Second Series (Madras, G. A. Natesan & Co., n. d.).

DLT—*Light of Truth* or An English Translation of the *Satyarth Prakash,* The well-known work of Swami Dayananda Saraswati by Dr. Chiranjiva Bharadwaja. Published by the Arya Pratinidhi Sabha, United Provinces of Agra and Oudh (India) 1915.

DS—*Deshabandhu Chitta Ranjan, Brief Survey of Life and Work, Provincial Conference Speeches, Congress Speeches* (Calcutta, Rajen Sen B. A., 1927).

DSNR—*Socialism and the National Revolution* by Acharya Narendra Deva. Edited by Yusuf Meherally (Bombay, Padma Publications, 1946).

DSPIQ—Romesh C. Dutt, *Speeches and Papers on Indian Questions, 1897 to 1900* (Calcutta, Elm Press, 1902).

GA—*The Story of My Experiments With Truth* by M. K. Gandhi (Vol. I, Translated from the Original in Gujarati by Mahadev Desai, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad 1927; Vol. II, Translated from the Original in Gujarati by Mahadeva Haribha Desai and Pyarelal Nair, Navajivan Press, Ahmedabad, 1929).

GC—*Gandhiji's Correspondence with the Government 1942-44.* 2nd Edition (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1945).

GCP—*Constructive Programme: Its Meaning and Plea* by M. K. Gandhi. 2nd Edition (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1945).

GCU—*Communal Unity* by M. K. Gandhi (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1949).

GCW—*The Collected Works of Mahatma Gandhi* (Delhi, The Director, The Publications Division, Vol. V 1961; Vol. VII 1962; Vol. VIII 1962; Vol. IX 1963; Vol. X 1963; Vol. XI 1964; Vol. XII 1964; Vols .XIII 1964; Vols. XIV-XVIII 1965).

GDD—*Delhi Diary* by M. K. Gandhi. 1st Edition (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1948).

GERLW—*Mahatma Gandhi. Essays and Reflecting on His Life and Work.* Edited by S. Radhakrishnan; includes an essay by J. Smuts (London, Allen and Unwin, 2/e 1949).

GHOS—*Gandhi, His Own Story* by C. F. Andrews (London, Allen and Unwin, 1930).

GLLM—*The Life and Life-work of Behramji M. Malabari* (Being a Biographical Sketch with Selections from His Writings and Speeches on Infant Marriage and Enforced Widowhood and also 'His Rambles of a Pilgrim Reformer') by Dayaram Gidumal (Bombay, printed at the Education Society's Press, Byculla, 1888).

GLLSJ—*Law, Liberty and Social Justice* by P. B. Gajendragadkar (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1965).

GLT—*Lokamanya Tilak* by Ram Gopal (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1956).

GS—*Speeches of Gopal Krishna Gokhale.* 3rd Edition (Madras, G. A. Natesan & Co., 1920).

GSA—*Sarvodaya* (The Welfare of All) by M. K. Gandhi. Edited by Bharatan Kumarappa. Reprint (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1958).

GSSA—*Satyagraha in South Africa* by M. K. Gandhi. Translated from the the Gujarati by Valji Govindji Desai. Revised Edition (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Publishing House, 1950).

GSW—*Speeches and Writings of M. K. Gandhi.* 4th Edition (Madras, G. A. Natesan & Co., n. d.).

GYM—*From Yeravda Mandir* by M. K. Gandhi. Translated from the Original Gujarati by Valji Govindji Desai. 3rd Edition (Ahmedabad, Navajivan Press, 1945).

H—*Harijan*, a weekly paper, weekly journal started on 11 February 1933 and published from Poona and from Ahmedabad. Edited by M. K. Gandhi and occasionally by others.

HRD—*Samagra Savarkar Wangmaya* by V. D. Savarkar; Vol. VI: Hindu Rashtra Darshan (Poona, Maharashtra Pranlik Hindusabha, 1954).

ICPD—*Indian Communist Party Documents* 1930-1956. Compiled by the Research Staff of the Democratic Research Service with an Introduction by V. B. Karnik (Bombay, the Democratic Research Service; New York, the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1957).

IPFC—*India's Problem of Her Future Constitution.* Being a Collection of Essays by various authors (Bombay, M. H. Saiyid, Malabar Hill, n. d.).

ISDBR—*Indian Speeches and Documents on British Rule* 1821-1918. Edited by J. K. Majumdar (Calcutta, Longmans, 1937).

ISR—*Indian Social Reform* in Four Parts. Edited by C. Yajnesvara Chintamani (Madras, Printed by Thompson & Co. at the 'Minerva Press', 1901).

KGS—*Gandhi The Statesman* by J. B. Kripalani (Delhi, Ranjit Printers and Publishers, 1951).

LASP—*Aspects of Social Policy* by R. Lohia (Bombay, The Socialist Party, Apollo Bunder, 1952).

LCYI—*The Call to Young India* by Lajpat Rai (Madras, S. Ganesan and Co., 1920).

LMGS—*Marx, Gandhi and Socialism* by Rammanohar Lohia (Hyderabad, Navahind, 1953).

LPFI—*The Political Future of India* by Lajpat Rai (New York, B. W. Huebsch, 1919).

MASSH—*Sri Aurobindo on Social Sciences and Humanities—Anthology* by Kewar Motwani (Bombay, Orient Longmans, 1962).

MLS—*The Hon. Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya His Life and Speeches* (Madras, Ganesh & Co., n. d.).

MMANTIP—*Sri Aurobindo and The New Thought in Indian Politics* by Haridas Mukherjee and Uma Mukherjee (Calcutta, Firma K. L. Mukhopadhyay, 1964).

MNI—*Nationalism and India* by Sayyed Abulala Maudoodi (Translation: Malihabad, U. P., Muktaba-E-Jama 'At E-Islami [Hind] 1948).

MSAS—*Studies in Asian Socialism* by Asoka Mehta (Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1959).

MSW—*Speeches and Writings of the Honourable Sir Pherozeshah M Mehta, K.C.I.E.* Edited by C. Y. Chintamani (Allahabad, The Indian Press, 1905).

NA—*New Age*, political monthly of the Communist Party of India.

NBOL—*A Bunch of Old Letters Written mostly to Jawaharlal Nehru and some written by him* (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1958).

NESAW—*Essays, Speeches, Addresses and Writings (on Indian Politics) of the Hon'ble Dadabhai Naoroji*, Edited by Chunilal Lallubhai Parekh (Bombay, printed at the Caxton Printing Works, 1887).

NGWH—*Glimpses of World History* by Jawaharlal Nehru (London, Lindsay Drummond, 1949).

NPURI—*Poverty and Unbritish Rule in India* by Dadabhai Naoroji (London, Swan Sonnenschein & Co., 1901).

NS—*Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*. Vol.I, September 1946—May 1949, 2nd Edition (Delhi, The Publications Division, Government of India, 1958); *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches* 1949-1953, 2nd Impression (Delhi, The Publications Division, 1957; *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, Vol. 3, March 1953—August 1957 (Delhi, Publications Division, Government of India, 1958); *Jawaharlal Nehru's Speeches*, Vol. 4, September 1957—April 1963 (Delhi, Publications Division, Government of India, 1966).

NSBHR—*Not Socialism, But Hindu Rashtra* (Bangalore, Rashtreeya Swayamsevak Sangh, Karnatak, 1964).

NSSD—*Socialism, Sarvodaya and Democracy*, Selected Works of Jayaprakash Narayan. Edited by Bimla Prasad (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1964).

NTF—*Toward Freedom*, The Autobiography of Jawaharlal Nehru (New York, The John Day Company, 1942).

NVA—Jawaharlal Nehru, *Visit to America* (New York, The John Day Company, 1950).

PBLTAB—*Lokamanya Tilak A Biography* by G. P. Pradhan and A. K. Bhagwati (Bombay, Jaico Publishing House, n. d.).

PCGGI—Abstract of the Proceedings of the Council of the Governor General of India, Assembled for the purpose of Making Laws and Regulations, 1883 with Index Vol. XXII (Calcutta, Office of the Superintendent of Government Printing, India, 1884).

PCIP—*The Crux of the Indian Problem* by R. P. Paranjpye (London, Watts & Co., 1931).

PEF—*The Epic Fast* by Pyarelal (Ahmedabad, Mohanlal Maganlal Bhatt, 1932).

PFMG—*At the feet of Mahatma Gandhi* by Rajendra Prasad (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1961).

PHSCR—*Hindu Society at Cross Roads* by K. M. Panikkar (Bombay, Asia Publishing House, 1955).

PIB—The Press Information Bureau of the Government of India.

PNS—*The New Spirit*, A selection from the writings and speeches of Bipinchandra Pal (Calcutta, Sinha Sarvadhikari & Co., 1907).

Ps—*Speeches of Rajendra Prasad* (Delhi, Publications Division, Government of India, 1955).

Rosw—*Occasional Speeches and Writings* (1952-56) by S. Radhakrishan (Delhi, Publications Division, Government of India, 1956).

Rppg—*The Political Philosophy of Mr. Gandhi* by M. Ruthnaswamy (Madras, Tagore & Co., 1922).

Rrrew—*The English Works of Raja Rammohan Roy* (Calcutta, Sadharan Brahmo Samaj, 1947).

Rrrr—*Reason, Romanticism and Revolution* by M. N. Roy. Vol. II. (Calcutta, Renaissance Publishers, 1955).

Rrsr—*Religious and Social Reform*, A Collection of Essays and Speeches by Mahadev Govind Ranade. Collected and Compiled by M. B. Kolaskar (Bombay, Gopal Narayen and Co., 1902).

Rrwn—*The Religion we need* by S. Radhakrishnan. 2nd Indian Edition (Varanasi, Banaras Hindu University Press, 1963)

Rs—*Rajaji's Speeches* in two Vols. (Bombay, Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1958).

Rsej—*Satyam Eva Jayate* A Collection of Articles Contributed to *Swarajya* and other journals from 1956 to 1961 by C. Rajagopalachari. Two Volumes (Madras, Bharathan Publications, 1961).

S—*Swarajya*—A weekly journal published from Madras, India. It attained importance more especially in the fifties of the present century partly because it contained contributions from C. Rajagopalachari, the distinguished thinker.

Srswj—*Some recent speeches and writings of Mr. Jinnah.* Collected and Edited by Jamil-ud-Din Ahmad. 2nd Edition (Lahore, Sh. Muhammad Ashraf, 1942).

Ssw—*Speeches and Writings of the Rt. Hon. V. S. Srinivasa Sastri P.C.* lst Edition (Madras, G. A. Natesan & Co., n. d.).

Tcic—*Crisis in Civilization* by Rabindranath Tagore (Calcutta, Visva-Bharati, 1941).

Tgr—*Srimad Bhagavadgita Rahasya or Karma Yoga-Sastra* by Bal Gangadhar Tilak. Translated by Bhalchandra Sitaram Sukthankar. Vol. I, 1st Edition (Poona, Tilak Bros., 1935).

Tlr—*Letters from Russia* by Rabindranath Tagore (Calcutta, Visva-Bharati, 1960).

Tlt—*Lokamanya Tilak* by D. V. Tahmankar (London, John Murray, 1956).

Tn—*Nationalism* by Sir Rabindranath Tagore (London, Macmillan, 1920).

Tsws—Selected Writings and Speeches by K. T. Telang. Vol. I (Bombay, Gaud Saraswat Brahmin Mitra Mandal of Bombay, n. d.). Vol. II edited by V. N. Naik (Bombay, Gaud Saraswat Brahmin Mitra Mandal of Bombay, n. d.).

Tws—*Bal Gangadhar Tilak His Writings and Speeches.* Third Edition (Madras, Ganesh & Co., 1922).

Vmi—*Modern India* by Swami Vivekananda. 5th Edition (Almora, Advaita Ashrama, 1956).

Yi—*Young India*, weekly journal, edited by Mahatma Gandhi from 8 October 1919, and published at Ahmedabad; ceased publication in February 1932. Collected issues of 1919-22 published together (Madras, S. Ganesan, 1922).

Zrr—*Reason and Rebellion* by D. A. Zoll (New York, Prentice-Hall, 1963).

GLOSSARY

ABSOLUTE JUSTICE—The principle of judging action relative to standards believed to be ordained by God or universally accepted by all societies; 'the exercise of authority in maintenance of right' and 'free from condition or mental limitation' (SOED, Absolute, IV), arbitrarily derived from acceptance of values thought to be those of God or held to be ideal by every human society.

ADVAITA—Postulate that the relationship between the individual and God is non-dualistic and is synthesised in the human attainment of the state of Brahman.

AHIMSA—Non-violence; the doctrine of refraining from the harming of others or the taking of life.

AUTHORITY—The right to enforce obedience; person or body having authority.

BHOODAN—The movement for a just redistribution of land.

BOYCOTT—Treatment by which persons, classes or nations may be punished or coerced by systematic refusal of social or commercial relations.

CIVIL DISOBEDIENCE—Refusal to obey the demands or commands of the government especially as a non-violent collective means of forcing concessions from the Government.

COMMUNISM—'Vesting of property in the community each member working according to his capacity and receiving according to his wants' (COD).

COMPLETE UNITY—The Social condition in which free individuals have learnt to accommodate themselves perfectly—without compulsion from others—with their fellow citizens.

DEMOCRACY—Government by the people, directly or through representatives elected by them.

DHARMA—the religious, ethical, social, political and customary law organically governing the life of the people.

DIVINE ESSENCE—'the nature of God'.

DIVINE SPARK—a part of the way of life illuminated by comprehension of God's guidance.

EQUALITY—Literally, the condition of being equal. Civil Equality is equality before the law. Political equality is equality in the share which the citizens of a state have in their government, e.g., by means of adult franchise. Economic equality is the provision of equal opportunity for all (through e.g. the right to work, to adequate wages, to reasonable hours of labour and leisure) to enable everyone to have a fair start in life and the chance to develop his capabilities as best he can.

FREEDOM—The freedom of a nation is gained when it is able to take action independently of one or a number of other nations.
Individual freedom is the right of the individual to think, speak and act without undue restraints or within reasonably formulated and legally specified limits.

GOOD SOCIETY—A society which provides opportunities for all its members for their optimum development; the ideal social system, such as propounded by Plato in *The Republic* and More in *Utopia*.

JANASHAKTI—The strength or power of the people.

JUSTICE—The principle of judging action in relation to the standards of normal behaviour in a society which are established in its legislation.

MORAL AMELIORATION—Changes in a person's behaviour considered to be an improvement by those recognizing one or another set of moral ideas
or

The improvement of a person's character consistent with an accepted system of morality.

MORAL LOSS (*to the nation*)—Conceived of as changes in the moral behaviour of individuals which result in a lack of allegiance to prevailing customary norms. To anyone committed to upholding these, such changes in behaviour would constitute a deviation and *subsequently* a 'moral loss' to the nation.

MORAL SENSE OF SOCIETY—The criteria of evaluation common to members of a social group presumed to represent society defined in relation to a normal pattern of beliefs.

MORAL SENSE OF THE INDIVIDUAL—The criteria for evaluation of action felt by an individual relative to his own beliefs.

NATIONALISM—Patriotic feeling; loyalty and devotion to a nation; policy of national independence.

NON-COOPERATION—Refusal to cooperate with the government of a country through civil disobedience (as by non-payment of taxes) or by boycott of courts, legislative councils, and schools.

PASSIVE RESISTANCE—Civil disobedience; resistance (as to a government or an occupying power) that does not resort to violence or active measure of opposition. Non-payment of taxes is an example of the methods adopted by passive resistance.

POLICE CONCEPTION OF THE STATE—The idea that the State's main function is to maintain law and order and give protection against external invasion by providing policing, military and judicial services.

POLITICAL CONSCIOUSNESS—A citizen's awareness that he has, as a member of the state, rights and duties.

SARVODAYA—Welfare of all.

SATYAGRAHA—Reliance on truth; the Gandhian method of achieving social and political reform by means of tolerance and active goodwill coupled with a commitment to one's cause expressed through non-violent passive resistance and non-cooperation.

SECULARISM—Impartial encouragement of all religions and of all religious life and activity. Secularism is opposed to theocracy; it refers to acceptance of the theory that the state should belong to no one religion more than to another.

SECULAR RATIONAL BASIS OF AUTHORITY—A view (especially of M. N. Roy among our thinkers) which stresses the idea that the power exercised in society by any one whether government, the head of a family or an individual should be determined with exclusive reference to the present life and social well-being and without reference to religion.

SELF-GOVERNMENT—Control by a nation of its own affairs.

SOCIAL ABUSES—The practices in society which could not be justified by reason (e.g. *sati*).

SOCIAL CHANGE—Transformation that takes place in living conditions in society due, among other reasons, to increases in population, technology and contacts with other peoples.

SOCIALISM—This concept is understood by various people in different ways. The meaning which is given to it by many thinkers is: a policy of social organization which advocates state ownership and control of the means of production, distribution and exchange. Equality is the essence of socialism according to Gandhi. Equal opportunities for growth, and equal opportunities for work according to one's capacity were, for J. Nehru, the basic ideas behind socialism.

SOUL FORCE—The power of the spirit in man, as distinguished from physical force, to influence the conduct of his fellow-men.

SWADESHI—A movement for national independence in India by boycotting the use of foreign goods and encouraging the production and use of home-made (domestic) goods.

SWARAJYA—Political freedom.

SWATANTRA—Individual freedom.

THE ORGANIC CONCEPTION OF SOCIETY—The idea that society is an organism with its several parts closely related to, and dependent upon, one another. An organism is a living structure composed of parts different in kind, the parts being complementary to one another.

THE STATE—An organized political community with a government recognized by the people (COD) and possessing the means to enforce coersive powers.

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Indian Political Thinking in the Twentieth Century is an introductory survey of political thought in modern India from Dadabhai Naoroji to Nehru. Before he prepared this survey, Dr Appadorai meticulously collected all the relevant speeches and writings of political writers and leaders, as the basis on which the survey could be written; that volume entitled *Documents on Indian Political Thought from 1857-1964* is being published by the Oxford University Press. The result is the first integrated survey of the subject based on original documents. It discusses such topics as a dependent people's conception of imperial rule, the Indian thinkers' conception of nation, democracy and socialism, ideas on the individual, society and the state as well as on the relation between religion and politics, satyagraha and other political methods and what Indian leaders thought of internationalism and universalism. Finally, the author discusses the impact of the past on the present, the relevance of political thinking in modern India to contemporary social and political issues.

Dr A. Appadorai has been well-known in Universities in India and abroad as the author of *The Substance of Politics* now in its tenth edition. He taught Political Science to undergraduate and graduate students at Loyola College, Madras from 1930-1944; was Secretary-General, Indian Council of World Affairs, 1944-1955; Professor of International Relations at the School of International Studies, 1955-64, and Member, Union Public Service Commission, 1964-67. He was adviser to the Indian delegation to the Paris Session of the United Nations General Assembly in 1948.

Among his publications, in addition to *The Substance of Politics*, are his classic *Dyarchy in Practice* (1937), *Revision of Democracy* (1940), *Collective Security* (1953), *The Use of Force in International Relations* (1958), *Essays in Politics and International Relations* (1969), and *Towards a Just Social Order* (1970). He also edited in collaboration with the late Sir Maurice Gwyer *Speeches and Documents on the Indian Constitution 1921-1947* (1957).

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